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NEW RELATIONSHIPS DEMAND REVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Paris ESPRIT in French Mar 80 pp 74-80

[Interview with Pierre Hassner by Paul Thibaud: "The Requirements of Law in International Relations." (Assessment of changes needed in international law concepts and human rights as precipitated by the Iranian situation and international relationships.)]

[Text]

Paul Thibaud: You are an observer of international relations. Do you share the impression some of us have that we are witnessing the emergence -- in a sector long regarded as the domain par excellence of Realpolitik -- of considerations of law through the activity of such private organizations as Amnesty International, or Doctors Without Borders, or the proposal to set up an international tribunal to deal with the American-Iranian problem? Do you get the impression that something like a rule of law, or at least a demand for a rule of law, is making headway?

Pierre Hassner: No, I get exactly the contrary impression. It is true that there is, particularly in the West and in the totalitarian regimes (I am thinking here of the China texts and of Charter 77), a demand for law and the intrusion onto the international stage by nonstate actors who have appointed themselves spokesmen for this demand for law. The state's self-arrogated monopoly on laying down the law has been broken, not only domestically, but at the international level as well. It is an extremely important phenomenon of these recent years. But, in the opposite direction, it seems to me that there is an equally important phenomenon occurring: in the Third World, in the countries, that is, which are neither Western nor communist, the thing that strikes me is the decline of law. In most of these countries colonial regimes have been supplanted by extremely tyrannical ones. The Iranian case is very revealing: Western rules of law, customs, and even

Western moral reaction to the taking of hostages have been utterly ignored by the Iranian population; these rules and principles have been spurned as symbols of oppression. In the name of different experiences, different values, a man like Khomeyni can say, "Your rules and your values do not concern me."

Thibaud: I should object to what you say about the Iranian business. On the one hand there was clear violation of the elementary rules of international law as they have grown up over the centuries, and which, until now, the Muslim states had observed as much as the others. But at the same time there is a demand for international law: the old tyrant is gone and the mobility of wealth in our contemporary world is such that he has every chance of living undisturbed on the fruits of his plunder. People are clamoring for international rules which would make such scandals impossible. The American demand (that the traditional rules be respected) and the Iranian demand (that new rules be established) are not necessarily conflicting. One of the problems of the law is to weigh and compare legitimacies. Bani Sadr, who has just been elected president of Iran, put this problem very neatly at the outset of the crisis, in the form of a paradox: the Americans have a right to demand their people, and we have the right to demand justice against the shah. In the case of Iran I should tend to see, potentially if not immediately, the possibility of new rules' being elaborated as a step forward.

Hassner: That is precisely what I hope will happen, although I am somewhat skeptical as to the juridical status of such an ad hoc international tribunal (set up under duress and blackmail while completely ignoring a unanimous ruling by the World Court at The Hague) finding some tyrants guilty in advance, but not others. Furthermore, when you scan the gamut from Nuremberg to the Russel Tribunal via the Eichmann trial, do you see the elaboration of new rules or a parody of justice -- never mind the political or moral value of the cause? I frankly don't know. I know I do not agree with Annie Kriegel, who says that the shah story is no longer of any consequence, and that those who will profit by its passing are communist leaders whose manipulations aim at making the break with the United States permanent. But there have been some very strong indications in this sense: there came a point when they said: "What we are interested in is not the shah, but America must admit its guilt; we are going to hold a spy trial." Perhaps you are generalizing the situation too much. What seems to be to be both the danger of Khomeyni and his greatness is that he is making no effort at all, even pragmatically, to fit in with the rules that had been set up to govern the coexistence of the United States and the Soviet Union, between the great and the small. For his part, Khomeyni is doing everything he can to provoke Carter, to insult him (calling him a fake Christian, just as guilty as Nixon...). He is doing nothing at all that might be interpreted as "Let's join to put the

old America of the past on trial, let's get together over new rules," as he did in his interview with Oriana Fallaci (in LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR), saying that the left was as bad as the shah. He represents his own rules, his own way of seeing things, the altogether different. He has not merely rejected Western rules, but has equally scorned to behave pragmatically. This is no longer "communization": it is "Khomeynization". A Khomeynized world is a world in which nothing can be predicted, a world where things happen blow by blow. Nobody knows how far the Iranians will dare to go vis-a-vis the Americans, nor how the Americans will react. The Iranians also refuse the good offices of Kurt Waldheim, whom they publicly humiliated, or those of the UN, whereas Khrushchev at least paid vice's tribute to virtue. For a lot of people these days, the driving force is collective pride or bitterness. We are not on the eve of an agreement under law.

Furthermore, the taboo which, after the American defeat in Vietnam, put a damper on military force or military intervention, is beginning to lose force. There are no rules of the game for Vietnam or for Cambodia -- at least none that we know. Until now there were rules of the game among Westerners, and a somewhat fuzzy set of rules of the game between East and West; nowadays, in relations among communist powers and in what is happening in the Third World, nobody knows the rules of the game.

In individual citizens of these different states, the demand for law certainly exists: we had a chance to see it in the case of China. We have gone through a brief period when the international political space was relatively favorable to the law: Helsinki caught the Soviets unawares within detente, where they were asking for a number of things; later, in Belgrade, they made no concessions whatever. And since right now they have a lot less to hope for, I fear that we are moving into a phase of nondetente where there will be even less room for human rights: Amnesty teams will be allowed to penetrate even less; what has just happened in Prague is merely prelude to what is going to happen.

Carter quite honestly believed in detente and in human rights; he had several universalist concerns: nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, limitations on arms sales. During his election campaign he said that something other than force must be used with Yugoslavia. That was the post-Vietnam reaction: never intervene. The Americans did not intervene in Nicaragua, they dissuaded the Iranian Army from mounting a coup. Carter truly believed in all this -- you might say rashly believed in it. He used to say: "We must project our values." I remember having said to Brzezinski back in January or February 1977, Yes, but how? You have to be ready to pay a certain price for the SALT treaties, or to apply economic sanctions -- otherwise you'll be merely making

statements which will not affect the course of events. No American president has ever recognized annexation of the Baltic countries. Each year the president sends a message to the Captive Nations Assembly. But that doesn't matter to the Russians, one way or the other: it's merely a declaration which doesn't stand in the way of hearty hugs. Notwithstanding that, the United States has tried, however clumsily. The thing that strikes me now is that the United States is falling back into the ranks. I don't believe it wants to make war. But it tried to do the opposite of what Kissinger did, and it is coming right back to Kissinger, which in effect implies that tomorrow it may well perhaps swing back again to detente if the Russians want to, but now it is geopolitical considerations that count. Oil, it would go to war for. It has to show the world that it is a power to be respected.

I cannot even say that the U.S. is altogether wrong. My policy has always been hawkish toward the Russians, dovish toward the rest. You have to keep a balance with the Russians, show them that there are risks, but on the other hand you have to understand Khomeyni, the eurocommunists, the African nationalists, the Nicaraguans: you must not lump all this demand for change in with the Russians. Yet I cannot rule out the possibility (and this is the strong point Kriegel, Besancon, or Kissinger would adduce) that, since the Russians don't think that way, they may have said to themselves: since these people let the Iranians walk all over them, why shouldn't we? We send 40,000 Cubans into Angola, into Ethiopia, and the Americans do nothing, so we can move into Afghanistan. There is a correspondence between the two events. Carter is ruled now by a logic of power relationships. He, or perhaps the Republicans after him, may use the rhetoric of human rights, but solely as a propaganda weapon. For example, the Jackson amendment said: most-favored-nation status shall not be granted to any state which does not let those who so desire emigrate. The Americans still have not granted it to the Russians, though they just extended it to the Chinese, who are no more liberal on that count. Now, though, the logic runs: the enemies of my enemies are my friends, therefore we must back the Chinese. Insofar as Pakistan is concerned, the United States had cut off its arms supplies because it was getting ready to test a bomb and because Carter is opposed to nuclear weapons proliferation and because Zia had had Bhutto executed. That was fairly risky from the geopolitical point of view, but meritorious none the less. Now the worthy General Zia is threatened by the Russians, so the United States supports him. I see the Russians as less tolerant, the Americans more preoccupied with power relationships, and the others trying to stay out of the way; perhaps all this makes the establishment of law even more necessary, but if we look at this in terms of space, the gap between supply and demand is going to widen.

Thibaud: I make so bold as not to agree with everything you are saying. First, as to Khomeyni: he is not Iran, nor yet the Iranian revolution. What he stands for is in effect the position of shutting one's self in. But the dynamics of the Iranian revolution go far beyond that.

Hassner: Even if Bani Sadr was elected, as we are told, by 95 percent of the people, it is Khomeyni, to a far greater degree, who speaks for them. Universality is perceived as wearing the features of the West, and the West as wearing those of humiliation.

Thibaud: I think you have to be a lot more subtle than you have been in analyzing Iran. I personally am highly critical of the American Government and particularly the American press, which have sought to reduce everything that is happening in Iran to the dimensions of the hostages, and to make human rights a means of pandering to Western smugness. More generally, you say that we no longer know the rules of the game. Those rules are certainly very cloudy, particularly the sacrosanct rule of nonintervention.

Hassner: It seems to me that we are once more at the beginning of a cycle. One might have thought after our wars in Indochina, those of the French and the Americans, that there was a tabu on the use of force. People used to say: the Red Army has never intervened except against its allies. Now we are seeing more and more instances of intervention in Africa: the French intervened in Zaire and were quite pleased with it, and for the United States, the tabu on intervention that has lasted for 5 to 10 years is on the way out.

Thibaud: But how are we to interpret this lifting of the tabu? We might interpret it, perhaps paradoxically, as something of a gain for the law. In the case of the Central African Republic, an ambiguous case if ever there was one, I should not defend French intervention... but, first of all, the way to it was paved by the mass media quite independently of the French Government, since when Mr Galley called the massacres of children in which Bokassa had taken part a "pseudo-event," the radio, television, and the press told us, with evidence to back it up, that there had indeed been a massacre. Then a commission of African jurists confirmed the event. A body of international opinion was built up, bringing pressure in favor of having done with Bokassa. Quite apart from the way the thing was handled and from the advantages some people gained from it, the fact remains that some tyrannies (like the earlier case of Amin Dada) become intolerable to public opinion. Something of the same sort has happened with Cambodia. Tyranny does not thrive under the glare of publicity. I see the level of demand climbing; maybe insecurity is increasing at the same time. The law can in fact be cause for war.

Hassner: Yes, indeed! this has been a bad year for dictators: Nadias and Somoza fell, too. But just a few years ago, Idi Amin was presiding over the OAU, and all Africa applauded some of his exploits; some regimes were ready to support Bokassa.

Thibaud: Isn't there also something new in the fact that these interventions by public opinion seem to me relatively detached from the logic of camps? Whether Idi Amin's was a progressive or a reactionary dictatorship was of no importance; we don't know which camp Bokassa belonged to, or which one the Khmers Rouges call home. It can be said that these events stirred people up less than the Stockholm Appeal that was signed by 8 million persons, but it seems to me that there is more genuine internationalism in current public opinion than in signing the Stockholm Appeal, which was a Moscow tool.

Hassner: What I fear for the United States and for the West as a whole is that, Helsinki's having coincided with a pullback from East-West confrontation, should that confrontation flare up again, the lines between camps will be more clearly drawn. That is what Patrick Wajzman says in FIGARO. In an article I find scandalous, he writes, under the headline "Buddies First": "No more laughing, we've got to back our people. Maybe Somoza or Bokassa didn't see things just as we do, but they had to be supported." That's what Kissinger scores Carter for: not supporting Somoza and the shah. I am afraid that this attitude is spreading in the West. I get the feeling that we have been through an interlude in which there was Helsinki and SALT I and II, but that it's over now. This does not mean that the demand does not exist, on the contrary: the role of nongovernmental organizations must therefore be increasingly important. I get the feeling that governments are tending to scrap the rules, rather than the reverse. But the thing that seems interesting to me is the behavior, even though it may seem a little bit chic and Parisian, of people like Bernard-Henri Levy; they stand apart from the organizations, they are doing something, they travel to where the action is themselves, unconcerned about belonging to a camp, or swapping insults with each other, concerned only with seeing that people get their human rights, with establishing the truth. I believe that governments are going to allow themselves less and less to be influenced by moral considerations, but when it comes to the trends in public opinion and media behavior, I think you must be right; except that I don't quite see what this means by way of having impact on government actions.

Thibaud: On one side Kissinger thinks that the rhetoric around human rights cost the American camp Iran, and on the other, Chomsky thinks that human rights are an American weapon, the

exact opposite. If I had to choose one of the arguments to believe, I should opt for Chomsky's: it seems to me that human rights are part of the West, in spite of all it could do. The fact that they are imposed (insofar as they are) as an international criterion is historically a victory for the West, but a victory it would be dangerous to try to exploit politically because human rights must not be the object of political exploitation. They are a basic need, not something you can pin in your buttonhole. The thing now is to see what can be done by the private internationales. What are their operating criteria? Criteria of universal requirements, of responsibility in action. This is what made Amnesty International so successful. I am afraid that the Cambodia campaigns may be defeated by some people involved in intelligence. The danger is to play at scaring the public in order to mobilize public opinion. That is a very dangerous weapon.

Hassner: I have heard two kinds of criticism of that sort of thing. On the one hand, from somebody nostalgic for the early days of Amnesty. This person said: now it's a big machine that does political balancing acts and that, in the name of effectiveness, plays up to governments. On the other hand, observer of Asia say that Amnesty's greatest weakness is its refusal to speak out about terror aimed at the masses. Amnesty International's rules of the game said that in the face of a dictatorial government, individuals would adopt individuals. Can Amnesty International take up the cause of the Chinese in South-east Asia or of other minorities or collective groups? Perhaps that is the role for Europeans, insofar as they have no military power and scarcely any economic power: to support these non-state campaigns. We have to find something that is neither the simplistic discourse of a resurgent cold war that subordinates all else to the East-West conflict, nor the easy-going way of universal benediction; to tell the truth everywhere, to condemn the Russians just as firmly as the Americans are already doing, but, within the same movement, to make it clear that it is in the name of a different goal which is no more lenient with the Americans; not to surrender to Wajman's logic. But beyond the duty of bearing witness and of solidarity, the transition to a universalist political strategy seems to me more difficult in a time of crisis like the one we are living in; I see it rather as easier in a phase like the one now drawing to an end.

Thibaud: You think that a minimal consensus was formed in a period of detente, while governments had their ideological defenses down, and that the bloc logic is about to surface now, to the detriment of the language of ethics?

Hassner: It may still be with us, but disembodied.

Thibaud: I find that difficult to believe because it would take strong, credible ideologies to reconstitute the camps along the lines of the old pattern. The Eastern ideology is no longer credible. On the other hand, the liberal ideology is credible, but it is unusable by governments. That cold war logic, which pitted a messianic communism against a strongly motivated anticommunism -- no, I cannot see it coming back. And that means there will be room for actions and thinking which overlap the confines of an unbelievable dualism.

Hasner: But there are more and more power relationships devoid of trimmings, quite open and crude. The Soviets no longer ask us to believe in their thing, but that does not stop their advancing. It's going to come down to the same thing for the Americans.

Thibaud: The old-time politics is splitting into two parts: I am not so naive as to believe that the logic of power relationships is going to go out of business, but alongside it there is room for another logic that may well offset it.

Hasner: The important point is the relationship between the two. In a time of detente there is at least a chance to fit the two logics together: we managed to tell the Russians: for reasons economic or otherwise, you are simply going to have to accept Helsinki; Sakharov could pick up the telephone and talk to Westerners. Now, though, the law and force are going to back into their own corners. What is left in the middle is the new importance of the media, particularly to a public which no longer believes in ideologies, but which at the same time is fearful of war and worried about its oil supply. The American media, which played a starring role in ending the Vietnam war at the time of Watergate, are mobilizing now in good conscience behind the defense of America's rectitude in the Iranian situation. I hope this will not happen in Europe. But, at the same time, I am inclined to favor the boycott of the Moscow Olympics and for joining with the Americans in saying "Merdel" to the Russians because I still think, too, that our present priority is to thwart the Soviet game-plan which consists in saying: we can show our strength now, and the Europeans will grab whatever alibi offers because they are scared. I don't know how public opinion in France might react. In Germany, a more exposed country, I can very well imagine fear as the primary reaction. On the other hand, some of the smaller governments, like the Austrian or the Dutch, might oddly enough have much tougher reactions, as has happened before, than other countries. That is a moral position, a position of law, which Europe as a whole could adopt. But I fear that, while the need for law is increasingly more acutely felt, satisfaction of that need is increasingly more seldom seen.

Thibaudi: There is not only governments and opinion: there are international organizations, too. Some countries, for example, simply dump their undesirable citizens. That is a right which the High Commission on Refugees in Geneva might challenge. There might be a right of emigres, for example, the right to take out some of one's property, the right to material compensation. We already have organizations for assistance. They could take advantage of the legitimacy vested in them by public opinion when some campaigns move it to push for certain principles which would limit the arbitrary nature of governmental practices.

Haesner: In Ceylon, for example, there was an uprising along the lines of Che Guevara's. Mrs. Bandaranaike thanked the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain, and France for the help they gave her in putting down the rebels on her island. I am afraid that there is a new internationale made up of states to deal with the troublemakers in Geneva or here at home, and with the Refugee Commission or with over-scrupulous consciences.

Thibaudi: In connection with the boat people, they were forced to call an international conference, whose conclusions were, in my view, wholly unsatisfactory, but which was a beginning. The overriding event is the globalization of such issues, be it that of problems or that of resources (look at the debates on the Law of the Sea).

Haesner: That was the ideology Brzezinski wanted to sell. Today East-West confrontations are out of date, and the issues facing us are those of the survival of the planet, so let's summon the Russians and everybody else to join in this great cooperative enterprise. Except, right now, all this is not going too well any longer. The little I know about the Law of the Sea is that it is a global problem, of course, but that what makes the East-West opposition passce is the fact that there are coastal states and land-locked states, and so on. It's more like a global grab-bag.

Thibaudi: But there are some issues where opinion has a voice, and that's the newest thing of all.

We stand at a complex and contradictory point. We see parochial interests awakening, beginning to shout that they won't listen to anybody, particularly not to those who advocate a world order they have established to their own advantage. But in so doing these self-same "savages" are thereby stepping into a universality which they are doing as much to build as to destroy. We glimpsed this ambiguity -- which I see as fraught with possibilities -- when Bani Sadr went to tell the "Islamic students" that they must reckon with world opinion, whose attention was riveted upon them: first they hooted, then they listened, and finally they applauded.

SCHOLARS: NORWAY, DENMARK ACTS INCREASE WAR RISK FOR SWEDEN

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Mar p 4

[Article by Wilhelm Agrell and Jan Öberg]

[Text] The eighties hardly began in an atmosphere of relaxation. The SALT treaty which had been prepared laboriously in the seventies has been shelved, and we are faced with the risk of another large-scale nuclear rearmament. This has, in a way, already begun with the development of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, both in the East and the West. But it is not only in the area of armaments that the picture has darkened, the global competition among the superpowers has become intensified as well.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan became instrumental in releasing a new U.S. policy of intervention in the Third World, which quickly became known as the 'Carter Doctrine.' The basis for this policy of intervention, which is largely similar to the cold war policy of the forties, gradually developed in the United States in the latter half of the seventies, concurrently with the growing involvement of the Soviet Union, primarily in Africa and Asia.

To the United States, the aim is now, as it was in the forties, to contain what is conceived as Soviet expansion. Even if the fears of an imminent third world war seem exaggerated, it is incontestable that the worsened political climate has had the effect that the strategic situation in many areas is liable to change.

What is now happening in the Nordic countries must be viewed against the background of this global development. NATO's plans to station cross missiles in Europe ought, in a way, to have been a warning that the Nordic countries are being pulled more and more deeply into a global military strategic game. There are now additional and clearer signs of this.

Reinforcements

Denmark and Norway base their NATO membership on a so-called base and nuclear weapons clause, according to which no NATO troops shall be stationed permanently in these countries in times of peace and no nuclear weapons shall be stored there either. However, both Denmark and Norway have expanded their defense programs on the premise that they will need reinforcements from other NATO countries in the event of war.

This is no new idea. Ever since the sixties, reinforcements in various forms have been planned, prepared and trained for the Nordic area. What now happens is that these plans are being directed toward a very important question, viz. advance storage in Denmark and Norway of heavy equipment for reinforcement units.

So far, it has primarily been units from NATO's emergency force and from Great Britain which have been topical as reinforcements. But, to an increasing extent, the United States has started becoming involved in the defense of NATO's northern flank, and the interest of the United States has increased noticeably after the events in Afghanistan.

The question of advance storage concerns a very forceful unit, viz. the Second Marine Amphibious Force. This force consists of two Marine Corps brigades--the second and the fourth--each comprising 8,000-10,000 troops. In addition to these brigades, an aircraft force of approximately 225 fighter aircraft and 175 helicopters are included.

Marine Corps

The U.S. Marine Corps has already participated in a number of maneuvers on the northern flank, and the interest of the United States in engaging its Marine Corps in this area has grown rapidly. The U.S. deputy secretary of defense, Robert Komer, said in 1978 that "the northern flank, in certain respects, is an ideal area in which to deploy the U.S. Marine Corps."

The present plans are to deploy the second Marine Corps brigade in Norway, while the fourth one is to be deployed in Jutland. At the same time, strong tactical combat aircraft (in addition to those of the Marine Corps itself) are to be transferred to Danish and Norwegian bases from the United States. Denmark has already concluded an agreement in principle to the effect that between 60 and 100 combat aircraft be stationed in Denmark.

Actually, the new plans of reinforcements involve the storage in Denmark and Norway of the heavy equipment of the Marine Corps (tanks, trucks, ammunition, etc.), so that the time involved in moving these forces can be shortened from approximately 1 month to a couple of days.

What then is the implication of this development to the situation in the Nordic countries.

Whose Balance?

During the entire postwar period, the Nordic countries have been a stable area, from a security policy point of view. This is what is often referred to as the Nordic balance. But it is doubtful to what extent it is the Nordic countries themselves which determine this balance, perhaps it actually is the interests and actions of the superpowers which, in the last instance, are of decisive importance to the Nordic countries, as well as to all other areas.

One sign of this is that the increasing global tension now seems to be making itself felt in the Nordic countries as well. Through the advance storage of heavy materiel, foreign forces are committed to the Nordic area in an entirely different way than previously. The difference between a base containing equipment and military supplies and a base which also includes personnel is not particularly crystal clear.

The purpose is, moreover, that the personnel already at an early stage, before hostilities have occurred in Europe, will be transferred, so that the American units will stand ready for combat in the Nordic countries. The difference between sending in reinforcements in an 'emergency situation' and sending them in in times of peace is not particularly clear either.

The reinforcement plans certainly do not constitute a merely formal violation of the base and nuclear arms policy (which, by the way, is not laid down in any agreement) but de facto circumvent the military limitation which this clause originally implied.

Consequences

If a war, although unlikely, should break out in Europe, the plans will inevitably have major consequences to the Nordic countries and particularly to Denmark and Norway. For with the reinforcements, Denmark and Norway will become integrated with the entire European theater of war, as with the global actions of the United States, in a much clearer way than previously.

The freedom of action of Denmark and Norway will thus be reduced in an emergency situation. And it is far from self-evident that the security interests of the small Nordic countries will always coincide with those of the United States; if anything, the opposite would seem to be the case.

In certain situations, one may even assume that the freedom of action will vanish completely, at the same time as the presence of big American military forces will cause a war on Danish and Norwegian territory to become quite different from previously. Already now, the Danish Armed Forces give higher priority to the protection of NATO's staging area in Jutland than to the protection of the Danish islands, where the majority of the population lives.

But the question of reinforcements will have consequences not only to Denmark and Norway but also to the neutral Nordic countries of Finland and Sweden. In the first place, there is a risk of a deterioration of the security policy climate, leading to Soviet countermeasures already in times of peace.

Such measures, aiming at strengthening the military resources in relation to the Nordic area, may come to affect the north-western part of the Soviet Union, the Baltic area and perhaps even Finland. That the Soviet Union may find a similarity between the military strategy situation which is now arising in the Nordic countries and the one which prevailed prior to 'Operation Barbarossa' in 1941, is a possibility that cannot be ruled out.

Nuclear Weapons

Another risk is that the likelihood that nuclear weapons will be deployed in the Nordic countries increases at the same time as the Nordic countries risk becoming involved in a global showdown, that the United States will be engaged in the area, and that major targets, including targets for nuclear weapons, arise (depots, air bases, etc.).

Finally, there is also a risk, especially to Sweden, of offensive operations or of assistance forced upon the country from the West. For, through the reinforcement plans, the United States, for the first time, creates an intervention potential in the immediate vicinity of Sweden. This cannot but have security policy consequences, quite irrespective of the present political relations among the countries.

The question has to be raised whether the reinforcements do provide any increased security at all to any of the Nordic countries. The plans threaten the entire basis for the stable situation in the area, in addition to the fact that, instead of concentrating on relaxation, the countries are now forced to concentrate on deterrents. The individual Nordic countries risk becoming more or less passive tools in the political power game among the superpowers, and, at the same time, victims of its consequences.

British and American military authorities seem to reason according to the old saying "If you want peace, prepare for war," although there is every indication that measures to prevent war actually may create war, and that armament races lead to increased security. If the Nordic countries fail to realize the importance of preventing a transition to a deterrent policy directed by a superpower, the concept of the Nordic balance may risk losing its meaning entirely.

Wilhelm Agrell is a peace researcher and has recently published the controversial book: "If the War Does not Come." He is, at present, working on questions of armaments race.

Jan Öberg is a peace researcher and is working on a doctoral thesis on: "The New Military World Order," as well as on a book on the Danish defense and security policy.

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CSO: 1109

TURKISH MILITARY FORCES ON ISLAND BEING REINFORCED

Nicosia HIKONG in Greek 18-24 Apr 80 pp 15, 16

[Text] The unusual haste with which the Turkish military forces in Cyprus are being reinforced with both men and materiel raises many questions. These reinforcements are made with Turkish Air Force transport planes which land continually at the Tymbos airfield and with Turkish Navy ships which put in at the Famagusta port. In recent months heavy four-motored planes of the C-130 Hercules type, two-motored C-47 Dakotas and C-160 Transiats are flying a continuous air bridge and are landing with greater frequency at the Tymbos airfield with materiel and supplies for the forces in [occupied] Cyprus. The Turkish Air Force transport aircraft take off from the Kayseri base and all flights are controlled by the General Staff Command. The Kayseri base which is 280 miles away from the Tymbos airfield can serve also as the main take-off base of the Turkish Air Force transport force in the event of military action in Cyprus. The Adana and Incirlik air bases are designated as support bases. The latter is under American control and, for signing the [recent] defense agreement, the Turks put as an inviolate condition that they be permitted to use this base. The Adana airfield and the Incirlik base are the nearest bases to Cyprus--just 160 miles away.

The Turkish Air Force transports are using the Tymbos airfield for transporting mainly sensitive equipment such as telecommunication sets and missiles and also for commuting high-ranking officers. The reasons are purely economic. The movement of soldiers with transport planes is very expensive and preassumes the use of several such aircraft which the Turkish Air Force lacks. It has only the following: 7 C-130 Hercules, 20 C-160 Transiats, 14 C-47 Dakotas, 3 DC-3 Viscounts and 9 light 6-seater Dorniers 28 and Islanders as well as 40 Italian helicopters of the AB 204/AB205 type.

The main depot for supplies and reinforcements is the Famagusta port section which is always a restricted area for security reasons. The reinforcements arriving in Cyprus are for the Second Army Corps under whose jurisdiction the occupied territory was submitted after the invasion and whose headquarters in Cyprus are at the Belvedere Hotel in Kyrenia.

The Second Army Corps has under its command 23 infantry battalions, 3 motorized companies with 180 M-47 and M-48 tanks and 150 M-113 armored personnel carriers. This force is supplemented by 3 reconnaissance companies with armored vehicles and 1 battalion of motorized vehicles located at Dikomo. There is also an army company in the area of the Second Army Corps headquarters while a second one is quartered in the Kyrenia Mitropolis (archdiocese).

The strength of the Turkish forces in Cyprus has been increased significantly lately--from 35,000 men it has reached 42,000. The Turkish forces there are not only reinforced with men but with material as well. The evident effort of improving the material being used should be considered a very serious development. Already certain units in Cyprus are using super-modern anti-tank missiles which are directed to their target by infrared rays. These missiles are considered exceedingly accurate and their operational range fluctuates between 25 and 2,000 meters which they cover within 12.5 seconds. The Turks have a total of 6,250 missiles and 483 launchers in Turkey and Cyprus. Of particular importance is the strengthening of the anti-aircraft system in our island. The Turks have in Cyprus a battery of ground-air Hawk-type missiles with headquarters in the Agios Khrystotomos area. The Hawk missile system is extremely mobile and can be deployed within very few seconds. Usually a battery consists of 6 launchers and 3 missiles, a loading vehicle, radars for pinpointing, target tracking and firing direction and a control center. It is believed that recently the Turks have brought to Cyprus improved Hawk-type missiles whose difference from the regular lies in the fact that they carry a larger warhead, improved directional system and improved fuels. They can hit targets 22 miles away and they can fly at low altitudes above treetops to high altitudes up to 11,600 meters.

The Turks have also improved and reinforced the anti-aircraft guns by transporting to the island more M-51 and M-55 guns. The M-51's have a 13-kilometer horizontal firing range and a 9-kilometer maximum vertical firing range. They are equipped with radar which helps them track the target at a distance of 22 kilometers compared to M-55's, the known quadruplets of 12.7mm, which have an effective range of only 1,000 meters.

Proop carriers of the Turkish Navy transport to Cyprus heavy self-propelled M107-type artillery and 8-inch M115 and M141 155mm towed-type guns. Already the Turkish forces in Turkey have six or seven artillery units with a total force of about 100 guns.

The transfer to Cyprus of the M107 and M115 guns is a very serious development because of its immense possibilities. The M107's can hit targets 33 kilometers away. In other words, the Turks can, if they wish, hit targets at Dali from Kyrenia or hit Larnaca from Nicosia or even the whole Troodos range from the Morfou area. On the contrary, the M115 and the M141 effective ranges are 17 and 23 kilometers, respectively. These

three guns together can fire 1-2 shells every minute using all the types of explosives NATO is using today.

Jamming from Kandara

At the same time, the Turks have improved tremendously their telecommunications and electronic monitoring equipment in Cyprus. The Cyprus Telecommunications Authority (CYTA) installations at Kandara have been transformed into a large telecommunication Signal Corps Center for the needs of the Turkish Army. Kandara is under the absolute jurisdiction of the Signal Corps commander and is a restricted area strictly forbidden to anyone. The Turks can use new electronic equipment to jam our frequencies and telephone communications. A characteristic example is a recent case when during an exercise of our civil defense the Turks interfered with the telephone conversations not only to show that they were aware of many things but also to create a tolerable chaos. A similar Signal Corps Center is located east of Agyria. It has the strength of one company which is encamped together with an army air force company near the Krini airfield from which light Dornier 27 and 28 planes make reconnaissance flights and transport officers.

The reinforcement of the Turkish units with monitoring equipment has become more pronounced recently with the introduction of the RUT-91 Sentinel apparatus, a very light radar set for battlefield surveillance which can be carried by only one soldier. Its functioning is based on a continuous transmission of a wave on a 180-degree radius which allows the operator to have a panoramic view of the field. A sound signal warns the operator of the presence of moving targets, such as isolated men, troops, vehicles, etc. The density and rate of the signal help the operator to distinguish the type of discovered target. The RUT-91 apparatus operate at a frequency of 50 to 1530 Hertz.

Turkey's real effort to reinforce its forces in Cyprus as well as the effort of its General Staff to send to Cyprus as modern as possible armaments raises many and searching questions. Why the haste for reinforcements and why so many flights of the Turkish Air Force transports? At least seven flights were observed in a single day.

In any case, these efforts could not possibly escape the attention of the Americans, the British and the NATO information services. And many things can be explained if the information given by a military attache that the new American-Turkish agreement contains a secret appendix on Cyprus is true. It seems that that is how things stand. An obvious example is the official announcement that the United States gave in to the Turkish demand to use the large American air base at Incirlik--a base which is important for intercepting the Greek Air Force planes in the event of war entanglement in the Cyprus area.

The dispatch to Cyprus of new Turkish reinforcements does not leave any doubt that the Turks, as a result of the new strategic situation now

evolving in the region, have been given the green light for further military actions in Cyprus "when the time is ripe." This time the Turks were not on the receiving end only but on the giving end as well. They offered bases and facilities located not in Turkey but in Cyprus.

Information which must be very reliable since it comes from the same source [military attache] states that Turkey has agreed, in the event of a war in the Persian Gulf, to allow the American Air Force to use the Incirlik base in Turkey to transport reinforcements and, if the need indeed arises, to use as a second base the Tymbos airfield which has a very large runway which can accommodate the landing and take-off of transport planes of the type the American Air Force is using today.

Under Whose Jurisdiction Is Tymbos?

Basically, Cyprus is intended as an air bridge and landing base for the transport airplanes which would be taking off from the Rhein-Main base in West Germany. Already the Kayseri and Tymbos bases are under the jurisdiction of the command of the 21st American Force of the American Air Force Transport Command. Its headquarters are the McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey, U.S.A., and its jurisdiction extends from west of the Mississippi River to the borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The landing bases are necessary because Akrotiri [base] will be used at a given moment as a support base when the need arises. It is known, moreover, that the 1973 Israeli war air bridge has taught the Americans and NATO that in order for such a vital undertaking to operate effectively, all traffic and mixups--to use American slang--must be avoided during the air missions.

It is a fact that the Turks play their game very well. They know that the Americans do not think their bases in Greece are very stable. It is doubtful if the Ellinikon Airport in Athens can be used [for such operations] since the climate prevailing in Greece is not so pro-American. In any case, it is doubtful if the Americans can lure Greece into a NATO-directed operation against Iran or, more generally, against the Middle East. With all this in mind, the Turks are offering water and in exchange they receive land for the sake...of the lofty ideals of the free world.

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NEW INFUX OF TURKISH SETTLERS REPORTED

Nicosia KIKONES in Greek 18-24 Apr 80 p 9

[Article by Iakovos Tenedios]

[Text] The United Nations committee against racial discrimination has once more undertaken, through a recent resolution, the issue of the Turkish settlers who were transported [from Turkey] to the Turkish occupied areas [of Cyprus] for the purpose of changing the demographic character of the island. The relevant excerpt from the resolution is as follows:

"The committee, having felt uneasy about the fact that changes have taken and continue to take place in the demographic composition of the population in that section of the island not under the control of the Cypriot government and that these changes are preventing a significant section of the population from enjoying its legitimate rights..."

At the time when the UN committee condemned the transportation of Turkish settlers to Turkish occupied Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriot press was publishing new information as to how the colonisation is accomplished. The settlers were detected in the early days of the invasion. At that time, the Turkish Cypriot leadership and Ankara tried to cover the colonisation effort with the alibi that these people were laborers who arrived for seasonal work. Later, when the number of "workers" reached tens of thousands, Ankara claimed that they were Turkish Cypriots who were forced to emigrate and are now returning to their "native" land. As time went on, the Turkish leadership not only ceased to answer the accusations but openly stated in various published announcements that Turkish officers and soldiers who participated in the invasion were settling in Cyprus and were given homes and properties.

The Turkish Cypriot press and especially HALKIN SESI has initiated a campaign against the settlers because their behavior toward the local people was unbecoming and hostile. But as the time passed and at Ankara's recommendations, the negative reaction of the Turkish Cypriot press came to an end. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots have come to accept the colonisation as an accomplished fact. In 1976, Denktash's National Unity Party took advantage of the settlers' presence and won the elections. The

other parties, seeing the effectiveness of this scheme, attempted to befriend the settlers also. Thus many settlers, having spent already what the National Unity Party had given them, started deserting it. But the National Unity Party in cooperation with other extremist parties of the Right again began importing new settlers from Turkey to whom it granted Cypriot citizenship in order to make up the votes it lost and in view of the forthcoming 1 June 1980 elections for local administrative organs.

A relevant charge was published in the newspaper SOZ on 19 March 1980. Specifically, the paper wrote: "Just before the 1976 elections the National Unity Party of Turkey, in cooperation with the forces of the Right there, brought to Cyprus boatloads of people for the sole purpose of having them vote... Now again, in view of the elections, people are being brought from Turkey to vote."

The same newspaper revealed on 11 April 1980 that the National Unity Party, exploiting the opportunity the state has given it, is illegally granting citizenship to the settlers in order to get their votes at the next elections. According to this newspaper, employees of the "Ministry of Interior" are visiting places having a majority of settlers such as the villages of Gerolakos, Agios Ambrosios, Iapithos, Kythraia, etc., to naturalize these settlers without the necessary formalities. The newspaper says that 11,000 persons have been granted citizenship thus far and that even Pakistani workers have been naturalized by mistake. To support its claim, the newspaper publishes a certificate of naturalization.

This certificate states that Usuf Domez from the village Staimes of Sevastasia province, owner of passport no. 292955, became a naturalized citizen of the "Federated State" on 21 March 1980.

These new revelations show that there is no doubt about Turkey's true objectives. If a Turkish Cypriot political party uses the presence of settlers whom it naturalizes to win elections then the implications will not stop at that point. These people will claim the "rights" their naturalization, illegal as it is, grants them. They will want to stay in Cyprus and this is Ankara's objective in order to achieve the change in the island's demographic character.

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BRIEF

TWO NEW PATROL BOATS--It is time for the narcotics smugglers and all types of law violators along the Cypriot coastlines to start seriously studying their every move because the Cypriot (harbor) police is not kidding. Its last acquisitions--two high speed patrol boats--are the finest of their kind and forbode new misgivings to the violators. The two boats were built in France, are already part of the harbor police, and are waiting for the first assignment. The official ceremony for their induction [into the port patrol] will take place within a few days. They were given the names "Kimon" and "Afrodite" and their crews consist of 10 specially trained men of the harbor police. The mission of these boats is to protect the Cypriot coasts against violators of the laws, to crash all types of smuggling and to hunt down the narcotics smugglers, "the merchants of slow death," as they are known internationally. The success of the Cypriot police in this sector is already extensive and there is no doubt that the addition of the two new patrol boats will bring about greater successes.

[Text] [Nicosia EIKONES in Greek 18-24 Apr 80 pp 6, 2/ 7520

OSG: 4908

RESULTS OF SAARLAND ELECTION DISCUSSED

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Apr 80 p 5

[Article by Kurt Reumann: "Who Is Responsible for CDU Losses: Zeyer or, More Likely, Strauss?"--"Federal and Land Political Influences Have a Bearing on Saarland Election Results"]

[Text] The bottom line of the Saarland Landtag elections appears to be that the FDP can overcome the 5-percent hurdle, regardless of whether it forms a coalition with the SPD or the CDU. Nevertheless, neither of its partners in a coalition must count FDP votes as additions to its own vote potential without discount. This is because the FDP constituency is subject to change, depending on which of the big parties the Free Democrats choose to join. When they promise partnership to the CDU, as they did in the Saarland, they gain those CDU fringe voters who are old-time liberals but who abandon the FDP when it makes common cause with the SPD. When the Free Democrats make a pact with the Social Democrats, they attract the liberal fringe voters of the SPD but lose those of their adherents who are basically liberal conservatives. This trend shows that the smaller party in power normally costs its bigger partner more votes than it drives away from the opposition. As the party strongholds thus become less distinct, the opposition party always becomes the strongest; while it gains additional votes, it cannot win because of the FDP. The SPD had this experience for the first time in the Saarland.

The procedure followed by FDP swing-voters described below was determined by a poll conducted by the Mannheim Elections Research Group during the week preceding the elections (which also appeared to be confirmed by the Second German Television Program). During the middle of April, every fifth interviewee who intended to vote FDP during the Landtag elections indicated that in the Federal elections he planned to vote for the CDU.

The running count conducted by the Godesberg Infas Institute, which makes projections for the First Television Program, also indicates the shift of marginal CDU voters to the FDP: the FDP was able to attract 5,000 CDU votes more than the CDU could take away from the FDP. The Infas figures give the impression of great accuracy, which is however not attainable in

view of the methods employed; the reader should therefore consider them to be mere approximations. Both institutes indicate that a chain reaction had taken place among the parties: in the overall picture, the SPD took as many votes away from the CDU and the FDP as it had lost to the Greens.

But the coalition mechanism (the larger governing party must give up some of its votes to its smaller partner) cannot alone serve to explain the great loss of CDU votes. The CDU had shown steady growth in the Saarland between 1955, when it attracted 25.6 percent of the voters, and 1975, when this percentage grew to 49.1 percent. A period of SPD weakness in the entire FRG during 1975 contributed to CDU successes. While it could be expected that the CDU would have to return some of the gains to the newly invigorated Social Democrats, this might have been considered a normal fluctuation, except for the high percentage of CDU losses (minus 5.1 percent). This was in excess of the losses recorded in the Landtag elections in Hesse (1.3 percent), Bavaria (3 percent), Rheinland-Pfalz (3.8 percent), Schleswig-Holstein (2.1 percent) and Baden-Wuerttemberg (3.8 percent).

The Rheinland-Pfalz results constituted the clearest signal that the CDU, rather than the SPD, is currently suffering a period of weakness throughout the FRG. It was a disadvantage for the Rheinland-Pfalz CDU that the then candidate for chancellor, former Mainz Minister President Kohl, was publicly superseded. Its new candidate for chancellor, Strauss, may have led the CDU out of its exhaustion low point following the impact of surprise and expectation; but he has not led it out of the tiredness phase for the long term. Both the Godesberg Infas Institute and the Mannheim Elections Research Group conclude that in the eyes of the voters Strauss is no competition for Federal Chancellor Schmidt and that this poor showing in turn had an impact upon the results of the Landtag elections.

FRG-wide polls by the Elections Research Group indicate that Schmidt is greatly benefitted by his incumbency. The only voters who want Strauss as chancellor are those who are firmly committed to the CDU--and according to the polls, even they are not as enthusiastically for Strauss as the hardcore SPD voters are for Schmidt. This was once again reflected by the Research Group's poll conducted during the week prior to the Saarland elections: about two-thirds of FDP voters advocated retaining Schmidt as federal chancellor for the next term.

This fact should serve as a caution not to designate Zeyer as the big loser in this election. To be sure, his is not yet the popularity which carried his predecessor Roeder, who died in office, from one election victory to the next; that too may have contributed to CDU losses. But according to the Elections Research Group, this was not the decisive factor. The polls indicated considerable favorable impressions of Zeyer, even on the part of SPD voters who on average had no negative opinion of him. In fact, 10 percent of those interviewed even preferred him to his Social Democrat challenger Lafontaine. Infas results are similar.

Results in Baden-Wuerttemberg also indicated that Spaeth's succeeding Filbinger did not produce the expected impact. It may also be safe to assume that in North Rhine-Westphalia Biedenkopf's succession to the deceased Kneip will not influence the result in a decisive manner.

As had already been noted in Baden-Wuerttemberg, there were signs in the Saarland that a reduced voter turnout (by comparison with that of 5 years ago) worked to the CDU's disadvantage. Infax goes so far as to explain the great CDU losses primarily as being due to abstention by CDU voters. It is claimed that the Christian Democrats had lost 15,000 votes through abstentions and "only" 10,000 through shifting to the SPD and FDP. The Elections Research Group noted in addition that the CDU showed the greatest losses in the 10 communities with the highest abstention rate (a decline of 5.4 percentage points, compared with a Land average of minus 3.8). But the actual loss still amounted to only 5.4 percentage points as compared to a Land average of 5.1 percentage points; thus the Research Group cautions against overestimating the impact of voter abstentions. In 2 weeks' time we shall see in North Rhine-Westphalia whether voter abstention will make its mark and whether those who abstain will be a majority of CDU partisans who are opposed to Strauss.

Saarland results demonstrate that the impact of Federal politics is getting stronger. Which does not mean that the impact of Land politics is negligible. Here we must also be aware of the fact that this small border Land is a disadvantaged area which has considerably greater economic problems than the comfortable Baden-Wuerttemberg and also North Rhine-Westphalia.

Das vorläufige amtliche Endergebnis

Saarland		1 Landtagswahl 27 April 1980	2 Bundestagswahl 3 October 1976	3 Landtagswahl 4 May 1975
4	Wahlberechtigte	826 126	811 203	803 670
5	Gültige Stimmen	694 120	746 315	706 239
6	Wahlbeteiligung	83.9%	92.0%	87.8%
	CDU	305 135 (44.0%)	344 650 (46.2%)	347 034 (49.1%)
	SPD	315 457 (45.6%)	344 187 (46.1%)	295 406 (41.8%)
	FDP	47 675 (6.9%)	47 299 (6.3%)	52 180 (7.4%)
7	Grüne	19 943 (2.9%)	—	—
	DKP	1 702 (0.2%)	4 054 (0.5%)	6 804 (1.0%)
	CSWU	3 189 (0.5%)	—	—

Key. Preliminary Official Results

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (1) Landtag Election, 27 April 1980 | (5) Valid Votes |
| (2) Bundestag Election, 3 October 1976 | (6) Voter Turnout |
| (3) Landtag Election, 4 May 1975 | (7) Greens |
| (4) Eligible Voters | |

9273

CSO: 3103

PRESS WIDENS 'SELF CENSORSHIP' LIMITS WITH AFGHANISTAN

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 11 Apr 80 p 11

[Article by Hans Mouritzen]

[Text] The traditional self censorship on the part of the Finnish press for the sake of neighborliness has partially been broken by the Afghanistan debate.

"The government, the nation and the people must pay for the windows that are broken by journalists and others due to their thoughtless writings," according to a well-known Bismarck quotation often used by the president of Finland. There has been some glass to sweep up in Finland as a result of the last few months' debate. According to IZVESTIYA, which recently felt compelled to write: "Unfortunately there are also mass media in Finland that engage in one-sided and biased reporting of the latest world happenings, more accurately in Afghanistan.

The aim of such insinuations is obviously to create suspicion about Finland's peace policy and good neighborliness." (8 Feb)

Finland is perhaps experiencing the most lively debate on foreign politics' issues since 1958. This is not only due to the crisis in Afghanistan, but the Afghan invasion is naturally one of the issues in the debate which has created the greatest rift in the good neighbor relationship, another is the urge to moralize and to state one's unshakable conviction about what is right and wrong in this world.

As a whole, it has been impossible to find any real attempt to dedramatize the situation.

The invasion has been front-page material every day for more than 2 months. Detailed reports of the situation have been dispatched here by correspondents in Kabul.

Except that the People's Democratic (Communist) KANSAN UTISET, which has defended the invasion, various newspapers have taken largely identical positions on the matter in their leading columns: the invasion has been

seen as unfortunate and as a deterrent to relaxation of tension, but we have not found any bombastic condemnations. Statements have been relatively general, like the following: Finland has consistently been "opposed to the use of force in solving international political problems. This includes intervening in the affairs of another nation, no matter what the explanation." (HUUVUOSTADSBLADET (nonpartisan)). This is another example of discreet, but unambiguous criticism: "while noting Brezhnev's appeal and hope for continued relaxation of tension (a few weeks after the invasion), we laconically advance it would have been easier to share his optimism if the march into Afghanistan had not taken place." (HUUVUOSTADSBLADET). One can hardly help detect a certain sad humor between the lines.

There has been wide support for Finland's decision not to vote for the EEC resolution to condemn the invasion. This decision is viewed as a logical consequence of the Friendship and Assistance Treaty, which expresses Finland's desire to stay out of conflicts of interest between the major powers. This desire must come ahead of feelings and moral judgments, which should be kept out of foreign policy. There are no ideological differences with respect to points of view here. UUSI SUOMI (Conservative) took the opportunity to point out that the forementioned principle has not always been followed with respect to criticism of the United States. It stressed the urgent need to maintain strict discipline concerning this principle in future situations.

HELSINKIN-SANOMAT and ILTA-SANOMAT (both nonpartisan and nonsocialist) are not enthusiastic about the company Finland chose by failing to vote; the latter wrote that Finland was the only Western nation that abstained from voting. More sharply than others, this paper stressed the possibility of conflicting interests as far as Finland is concerned: one being our concern for the Friendship and Assistance Treaty, the other our concern for "not breaking down the authority of the EEC and weaken the belief in EEC's ability to protect the interests of small nations vis a vis those of the great powers."

The logic of the decision not to vote based on Finland's foreign policy did not prevent HUUVUOSTADSBLADET from pointing out that "the opinion in Finland...is hardly different from that in other countries with which Finland is normally compared!" One can also note obvious satisfaction with the complete success of the vote, which is characterized as a "severe political set-back for the Soviet Union."

The Finnish press has not been reluctant to print letters from readers concerning the Afghan situation. These have vented feelings and moral views that have not found expression in official politics and only moderately so in leading articles. There has been a multitude of requests to boycott the Olympic games, expressions about the shabbiness of Finland's refusal to vote and parallels between events in Afghanistan and the Winter War (Kernal being the cousin of Afghanistan etc.). The 40th anniversary celebration of Finland's 9 April (30 November) a few months ago and the publication of many new books about events at that time have naturally not lessened the desire to draw parallels of this kind. The following can be said to represent the position taken by readers in most of these letters: "Is it sincere and honest neighborliness and friendship never to criticize one's neighbor?"

Of course, the concern for criticism of the system in the Soviet Union is another problem that has created tension between the need to moralize and the consideration for good neighborliness.

ILTA-SANOMAT has also been the most outspoken newspaper on this issue (which the paper itself does not fail to brag about). Most of the other newspapers, however, have given equally detailed accounts of Sakharov's exile to Gorky. ILTA-SANOMAT has not avoided publicizing Soviet critics' views previously either, but if we need to point out one difference, it is that, compared to most of the Danish press, its style has been somewhat more objective and direct, hence less moralizing and bombastically judgmental. The Finnish press has been relatively more concerned about the consequences of the Sakharov case on the relaxation of tension internationally than about expressing impulsive and isolated indignation with the case itself.

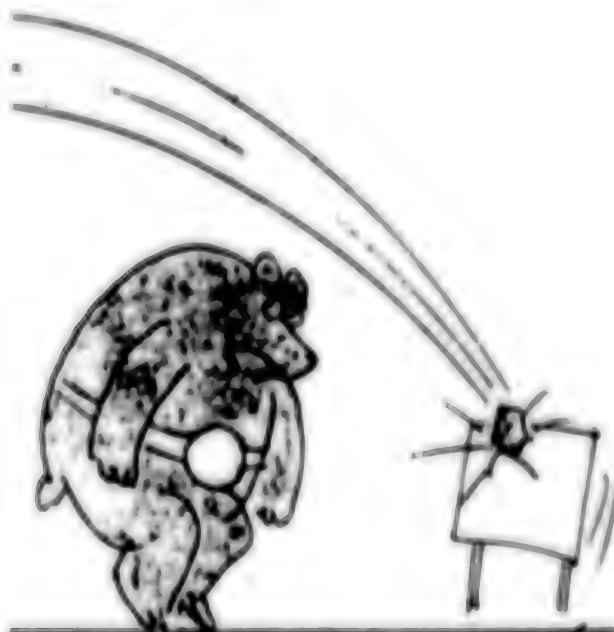
President Kekkonen recently said (to SUOMEN LEHDISTÖ ("Finland's Press")): "In my opinion every person--the journalist too--weighs his conduct depending upon the situation. This might be called political wisdom as far as the nation's interest is concerned." To this one might add that not all situations and conditions require an equal amount of wisdom. There are differences in degree. On the one end of the spectrum there are conditions that call for direct, impulsive and possibly moralizing "self-realization," on the other end conditions that require almost self-suffocating reflection.

Theoretically, one might expect the Finnish press to be closer to the latter possibility than the press in most other countries. It can hardly be otherwise since (1) Finland is a small nation within a superpower's immediate sphere of interest; (2) this superpower has an entirely different social system than that reflected by the parliamentary majority in "nonsocialist Finland"; (3) the superpower is presently involved in projects--within and without--which many people--Finland too--consider morally questionable (like the Afghan situation); (4) the superpower is very sensitive about its treatment in the Finnish press. These four circumstances together (which we know so well from Denmark's relationship with its neighbor to the south) must inevitably create tension between the urge to moralize and "political wisdom." However, the traditional style and professionalism that characterize the Finnish press help make the tension less than one might expect. They protect both the national interest and the urge to express one's opinion, actually emphasizing the latter perhaps, but in a somewhat indirect and subtle manner which does not vitally threaten the national interest.

Considering the theoretical expectations one might have (the four points mentioned above) and the obvious caution that characterized the debate in the 60's and early 70's, most of the newspapers have been surprisingly candid about both the Afghan invasion and the Sakharov case, somewhat less than other Nordic countries, but enough to break a few windows, i.e., irritate IZVESTIYA.

To what extent the Soviet Union is affected by other nations' moralizations is open to discussion. But it is a fact that rather indirect statements in the Finnish press have considerably greater effect than bombastic West European press commentaries. It is always more painful to be criticized by a "friendly" neighbor than by the enemy camp. The West European press cannot break windows, no matter how much it would like to.

Hana Mouritzen is a research scholar.



The stone coming from a good neighbor causes greater irritation than those from the enemy camp. The Soviet press is unhappy about the criticism of the Afghan invasion leveled by part of the Finnish press. (Drawing from HUFVUDSTADSBLADET)

8952

CSO: 3106

FRENCH MOVES IN MIDDLE EAST NOTED, EXPLAINED

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 10 Mar 80 pp 30-31

[Article by Pierre Pean: "The Emirs Are Looking for a Godfather"]

[Text] France is taking another step into the Persian Gulf. Beyond the guaranteed oil supply and beyond the interests of the industry, Mr Giscard d'Estaing's visit might sanction the French presence in an area that has been increasingly tempted to stay outside the rivalries between Superpowers.

The last Anglo-American lock on the Persian Gulf has just been exploded. From now on France will be able to buy petroleum directly from Kuwait, and furthermore it will also act as "godfather" in an area that would like to be protected from the rivalries between the two superpowers. To achieve this, the French president had to make use of the "Open Sesame" known as "self-determination of the Palestinian people."

Last January, Mr Jean-Francois Deniau, minister of foreign commerce and Mr Giscard d'Estaing's special envoy, was startled by these words from the Emir of Kuwait: "Take the place of the English." Such a thing is now possible, and the place is an enviable one: even though London bears the stigma of a colonial power, it has a better share of the Kuwait market than does Paris. Indeed that paradox is repeated throughout the Gulf. France wins unanimity in official speeches but it only receives 6 percent of the Kuwait market, 2.3 percent of the Bahrain market, 10 percent of Qatar's, and 5 percent of the United Arab Emirates'...

When Mr Giscard d'Estaing chose to throw the Palestinian "bomb" right at the beginning of his trip to the Persian Gulf, it was not by chance. That little nation, nestled at the end of the Gulf between Iraq and Saudi Arabia, has a very special role on the international scene, a role that goes beyond what it could command with the two weapons at its disposal: 1 million population and 100 million tons of petroleum annually.

Even before starting the process leading to self-determination, Kuwait was the first state dominated by Palestinians. Indeed, the 300,000 Palestinians who live in that emirate command all the key posts. Both in the ministries and in the petroleum industry, they are the ones who think, establish the projects and have them signed by the members of the royal family. Privately the Saudis always cite Kuwait as an example to be avoided. And yet in Kuwait the Palestinians do not--as they did in Lebanon before 1975--use their "kalachnikov" to impose their wishes on the government, but the Bedouins are quite aware of the power play between themselves and those who one day hope to return to the banks of the Jordan. This pervades all of Kuwait's politics.

On the domestic scene, to begin with, Kuwait is the most restless nation in that area. Criticism is frequently heard against the reigning family, and while their emir closed Parliament in 1975, at the explicit request of the Saudis, political life is constantly threatened by unrest.

Finally, on the diplomatic level, Kuwait has an aggressive policy. "What worries us in that area is not so much the rumble of Soviet tanks as it is the unsteadiness caused by Israeli policy," Kuwait's representative at the United Nations exclaimed late last week. Naturally, and more so than the other emirates, Kuwait consistently makes it a point to keep its distance from the United States, which remains a loyal friend to the arch-enemy of Kuwait's Palestinian guests, and therefore its own.

Sheikh Jaber al Ahmad pointed out to President Giscard d'Estaing that the security and stability of the Persian Gulf were the concern of the nations on its shores and that, within the same context, he was particularly concerned with a solution to the Palestinian problem and, among other matters, that he hoped to see Mr Yasser Arafat invited to the Elysee in the near future.

In their private talks, the emir and the president reviewed the means of promoting tighter security for that area which is strategically important to the West. Outside traditional diplomatic channels--a Euro-Arab dialog, three-part discussion, or North-South meeting--they discussed plans to build an armament complex in the emirates, replacing the one originally planned in Egypt (Arab Industrial Organization). Such a complex would essentially be financed by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Abu-Dhabi and Jordan, and executed by France. But the matter has little chance of going beyond the dream stage, because Kuwait's partners are too distrustful of that nation. "It would be an armament factory in the hands of the Palestinians," they say. The Saudis see no other solution than to rekindle the Egyptian project whenever the Arab countries' bitterness toward President Sadat has cleared to some extent.

Meanwhile, Kuwait as well as Saudi Arabia and the emirates are making huge purchases of weapons of all sorts from French companies, such as Thomson, MATRA, and Creusot-Loire...

"We are looking beyond our own interests, we have statements to make and ideas to suggest," President Giscard d'Estaing declared in Manama, Bahrain's capital, on the third day of his tour. France depends on that area for three-fourths of its oil supply. It would be difficult to do better, but France might nevertheless put its interests on a firmer foundation and insure the continuity of this vital transfusion. The CFP [French Petroleum Company] enjoys a privileged position in Abu-Dhabi. Total and Elf-Aquitaine buy 12 million tons of petroleum directly from Saudi Arabia each year. But in Kuwait, French oil tankers were missing...

On 12 December 1979, Mr Andre Giraud, minister of industry, sent a letter to Kuwait's minister of oil, to assure him of "the importance he placed on a positive conclusion to various negotiations":

--Elf-Aquitaine and Total wished to buy crude oil directly;

--the SNEA [National Elf-Aquitaine Company] proposed that Kuwait take part in a refinery for heavy crude [and proposed] cooperation in the joint development of solar materials in third party countries, and an association for worldwide exploration.

Those urgent requests were heeded by Kuwait. This is a good sign for the future, because this new cooperation occurs at a time when Kuwait's petroleum policy is taking a hard line. Indeed, that emirate has confirmed its determination to reduce its annual production by 25 million tons, starting 1 April. It has also opposed the Saudi intent to call an extraordinary meeting of OPEC to reunify petroleum prices. Kuwait may be placed among OPEC's "hawks" ever since the Doha meeting in December 1976. It was Kuwait which, on 10 October last, took the initiative in upsetting the hierarchy in OPEC price scales by unilaterally raising its rates--a decision which caused an uproar and has, for the past 6 months, resulted in soaring rates.

After listening to the concerns of the Kuwait "hawk," who feels he has a certain regional responsibility towards the smaller emirates, the French president paid particular attention to the complaints of the emirs who feel crushed and overwhelmed by recent events. And for good measure, he must report to the man who considers himself to be the supreme power on the left bank of the gulf, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia.

That king, too, has great need of a "godfather" less in the limelight than the one stirring in Washington. Last year's capture of the great mosque in Mecca has left some deep scars.

11936
CSO: 3100

AIR FORCE GETS MIRAGE 2000's WITH MULTIFUNCTION RADARS

Paris ELECTRONIQUE ACTUALITES in French 4 Apr 80 p 8

[Article by D. Levy]

[Text] Instead of the two versions planned initially, the French Air Force will get three models of the Mirage 2000. The new version, equipped with a multifunction radar developed by Thomson-CSF [Radio Company], has just been selected to permit a more rapid deployment of the Mirage 2000, both for the French Air Force and for export. This version will be delivered starting in mid-1983, while the version equipped with the pulsed Doppler system, whose development by Thomson-CSF-EMD [Marcel Dassault Electronics] is taking longer than expected, will only become available in 1985. This difference of 18 months may be a decisive factor in determining the success or the failure of the Mirage 2000, which is up against sharp U.S. competition for the export market. This information was released during a press conference held on 25 March at the Bretigny CEV [Flight Test Center].

The Mirage 2000 is carrying the hopes of the French aeronautic industry for the export market for the next 15 years. So it is essential that it become available as soon as possible to respond to the demand that has already appeared on foreign markets. Competition from the United States has become even sharper, and while the technical reputation of the Americans is strong enough so that they can sell their planes "in the planning phase" (the F18 is less advanced than the Mirage 2000, and the proposed F16 does not even have its definitive weapon system), the same thing is not true for the French, who have to show a truly operational piece of equipment, and in most cases, one identical to the version selected by the French Air Force.

Designed as the successor to the Mirage III and the F1, the Mirage 2000 is a combat plane that is entirely new in relation to the preceding family. For this reason the CEV officials at Bretigny are claiming that the performances of the Mirage 2000 are improved in proportions that go as high as 75 percent, for example, its maneuverability over that of the Mirage III. All the technical officials at the CEV are in agreement on the satisfactory proceeding of the Mirage 2000 testing.

Three Radars

But the value of a combat plane lies primarily in its weapon system. The weapon system of the Mirage 2000 has been given a great deal of attention: the improvements include the digitalization of the equipment, the introduction of a data distribution "bus," the highly sophisticated integration of displays (this is the only single-engine jet aircraft that has a "low head" color cathode ray tube) and three types of radars adapted for specific missions.

The first version, designed for interception of aircraft flying at all altitudes, optimized particularly to detect aircraft penetrating at low altitudes, will be equipped with an RDI [Pulsed Doppler Radar] system now being developed at Thomson-CSF/EMD. This type of radar is already in use on the most sophisticated U.S. aircraft, such as the F14 and F15, but it is the first time it has been developed in France. That explains why the development has taken longer than was originally planned (it is now expected to be available in 1985).

To compensate for this lag, which would have been disastrous for the export market, the Air Force has been forced to adopt a version of the Mirage 2000 equipped with a more conventional multifunction radar (it is in the line of the Cyrano family, which is used in most of the Mirage III and F1). This radar, designed for a variety of intercept and ground attack missions with conventional weapons, will offer much higher performances than those of the Cyrano IV (installed on the F1) but a good deal less than those of the RDI in low altitude detection.

This RDM [Multifunction Doppler Radar] system, which will be used on the first Mirage 2000 starting in mid-1983, was developed by Thomson-CSF using funds granted under "article 90" (aid for equipment designed for export). It was begun practically at the same time as the RDI. The manufacturer had

decided to gamble on the need for such a radar system for the export market for the Mirage 2000 ("The RDI, highly sophisticated, will not be exported to all countries; each case will be considered separately," explained General (Engr Corps) Bousquet, technical director of aeronautic construction) or for other types of foreign aircraft (being retrofitted), while there is still a possibility that the French Air Force might decide to order this radar, primarily for overseas missions.

The third version of the Mirage 2000 will be equipped with an "Antilope" ground tracking radar developed by EMD and Thomson-CSF. This version is designed for low altitude penetration, and is to be used with the ASMP [Medium Range Air to Surface] missile with a nuclear warhead developed by Aerospatiale, while the RDI and the RDM are associated with the "Magic" missiles used for close combat and the "Super 530" (for long distance interception) made by Matra.

One Plane Ordered for France, Two Exported

"What is at stake with the Mirage 2000 is finding out whether France can continue its policy of developing combat aircraft based on the export of two versions when the French Air Force only orders one for its own needs," said Mr Hibon, director of international affairs for the DGA [General Armament Delegation].

Mr Hibon felt that it will be possible to sell the Mirage F1 family until 1984, whereas after 1984, "we will try to promote the Mirage 2000 on all foreign markets." These markets will remain the countries which traditionally buy French aircraft (the Maghreb countries and the Near East make up 55 to 60 percent of our sales, Europe 20 percent, and the rest is spread between Latin America and the Far East)," pointed out Mr Hibon, while stressing the political aspect of combat aircraft sales. Questioned about a possible order for Mirage 2000 to be made this year, Mr Hibon answered: "Probably not in 1980; that seems to me a little early."

Then General Forget, Air Force deputy chief of staff, repeated that "the Air Force has not programmed the introduction of the Mirage 4000 (dual jet-engine version developed by Dassault using its own funds) in its units."

7679
CSO: 3100

CHANGE IN DOLLAR-DRACHMA PARITY REPORTED

Athens EPIKAIRA in Greek 17-23 Apr 80 pp 43, 44

[Article by Ap. Strongylis]

[Text] The 12 percent dollar rise during the period from January until now (with a corresponding devaluation of the drachma) exerts heavy pressures on the domestic prices upwardly and aggravates still more the country's balance of payments. The upward "course" of the dollar has changed the drachma value from 38.7 early in January to 43.2 drachmas in Holy Week. In recent days there has been a small decline (a dollar drop by 3 percent) which, however, is doubtful if it will continue. This decline is attributed to the US-Iran relations, the Iraq-Iran dispute and the slight decline in the American interest rates which remain at the unprecedented level of about 20 percent.

When asked by EPIKAIRA about the dollar prospects, a spokesman for the currency authorities said cautiously: "The international crisis affects, without question, the dollar in a restraining way thus offsetting in a way the impetus the American president's anti-inflationary measures had given the dollar." Referring to the impact--from the upvaluation of the dollar--on the Greek economy the same spokesman said: "As Coordination Minister Mitsotakis stated a few days ago, the rise in the dollar value is creating problems in the effort to check inflation."

"Basically these problems concern liquid fuels and those of the important goods which are paid in dollars. In other words, when the dollar is upvalued our need for exchange for paying these imports is greater while at the same time the increase of the drachma cost influences the domestic prices. Of course 'no evil is devoid of good' and the rise in the dollar value and the corresponding devaluation of the drachma are helping the Greek exports. In any case, last week's trend (with the slight dollar decline) provides a relief, the longevity of which, however, is uncertain."

According to assessments by appropriate services the advantages and disadvantages from the upvaluation of the dollar (and the corresponding devaluation of the drachma) may be summarised as follows:

Advantages: support of the competitiveness of the Greek exports and an increase in the income from this source; an increase in the income from invisible resources paid in dollars.

Disadvantages: support of the inflation framework as a result of the price increase of imported raw materials (whose value is paid in dollars) and, consequently, as a result of the increase in the production cost of domestic products; an increase of the inventory of imported goods with the prospect of selling them later at higher drachma prices (taking advantage, in other words, of future price rises because of a rise in the exchange rate of the foreign currency); readjustment of the domestic fuel prices since they will be paid in overvalued dollars; abstention from placing foreign capital in countries whose currency is being undervalued; finally, an increase in the domestic public debt.

Drachma and Other Currencies

The drachma-European currency parity (Greece realizes 60 percent of its imports from Europe) did not show considerable changes during 1980. Only the British pound was upvalued and from 86 drachmas at the end of 1978 it has already reached 93 drachmas. The dollar was upvalued during the same period vis a vis almost all European currencies which were devalued by a corresponding percentage.

If one wanted to know in a broader time framework the dollar-drachma parity as well as that between the dollar and other currencies, one would find out that during the period between February 1973 and March 1980 the following changes took place (according to a price table of the London Exchange Market):

Foreign Currency	% Devaluation	% Upvaluation
Drachma	26.6	
Liretta (Italian)	35.0	
Escudo (Portuguese)	50.0	
Pound (British)	11.0	
Dollar (Canadian)	16.0	
Pesta (Spanish)	15.2	
Franc (Swiss)		89.0
Shilling (Austrian)		59.0
Mark (German)		57.3
Franc (Belgian)		34.0
Guilder (Holland)		44.0

In any event, from January 1980 until now the dollar has experienced an upvaluation compared to the major European currencies (French franc, German mark, etc.). Finally, let us see how the drachma stood during the 1970-80 decade compared to other foreign exchanges. On the basis of the exchange

sale prices on 31 December 1970, in March of this year the drachma compared to 1972 was devalued as follows in comparison with other currencies:

Currency	% Devaluation
Dollar	28.9
English Pound	21.5
German Mark	62.3
Swiss Pound	69.8
Belgian Franc	55.6
French Franc	42.7
Dutch Guilder	58.3

Compared to the Italian liretta the drachma was upvalued by about 2 percent during the above decade. The question now is what will happen to the dollar? If last week's decline continues, the dollar-drachma parity will improve. A first favorable result of such a development would be to avoid raising the fuel prices in the domestic market. In a statement he made, the coordination minister has excluded such an upvaluation but this will not be possible during the second half of the year if the dollar value does not drop and, worse still, if the dollar is upvalued much higher.

In any case, the government is feeling the need to decrease the pressures on the price level caused by the dollar rise and the imported inflation and has recommended to the currency authorities to be somewhat restrained in the formation of the drachma parity and to avoid intense devaluations. Up until now the gradual devaluation of the drachma has been considered as beneficial to exports since it made them cheaper. But the great upvaluation of the dollar has created an abrupt drop in the drachma value. The question now arising is what margins the currency authorities will have for handling the situation if the dollar again takes an upward course.

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HEAD OF HOTEL GROUP SEES 'ACUTE SITUATION,' PROBLEMS

Athens THE ATHENIAN in English May 80 pp 19, 20

(Report on interview with Apostolos Doxiadis, president of the Greek Chamber of Hotels, date and place not given)

(Text)

LIKE most commercial chambers in Greece, the Greek Chamber of Hotels is a quasi-official organization. There is something incongruous in the fact that such an organization — in this case made up of the principals of privately owned businesses (hotels) — should be partly governmental in nature. It is, therefore, not purely a trade group. Its activities and maneuvers are closely monitored by certain self-policing and government-guided procedures. This fact makes its operation cumbersome. As Greece enters the Common Market on January 1st, 1981, it is hoped that some of these incongruities will be eliminated or at least made smoother.

In a recent interview with Apostolos Doxiadis, President of the Greek Chamber of Hotels, who is also owner and co-managing Director of the famous Grande Bretagne Hotel in Athens, he indicated that "we need, as hotel operators, a professional cost accountant on the staff within the Chamber, so that we can obtain statistical perspectives of our operating costs. I want to hire such a person and other experts which we need. But because our organizational structure is

semi-governmental, we are forced to have a law passed in Parliament, just so we can hire a few people. At any rate, it should come to pass soon."

What is rather bizarre, from a businessman's point of view, is that, whereas the top-echelon executives of all Greek chambers are elected by the owners in each industry (in this case the hotel owners) and are mostly un-salaried, the large bureaucracies that they run are made up of government employees who, once hired, cannot be easily fired.

Mr. Doxiadis would like to see his quasi-governmental chamber become a real trade group, with a qualified staff that can do cost projections, organize or at least help organize conventional business. It would thus prepare the hotel industry for the coming Common Market business milieu. As it is, Greece's many adjustments to the EEC are bringing about vast changes in Greece's ways of doing business, many for the better.

After studying hotel administration at Cornell University in the early 1960s, Apostolos Doxiadis took up law and economics at Heidelberg. In retrospect, he indicated, he found the American

system of education more productive than the European one in his particular field, in that it provides practical, useful specifics and less theory. He values especially his experience as president of his trade's chamber, because of the varied exposures to people and situations that have enriched his professional life, even though it is an unsalaried post.

There are about 3,500 hotels in Greece, and of these about 500 have more than 400 rooms each. Most of Greece's hotels are one-hotel operations. Owners rarely have more than one; quite a few are owned jointly by several proprietors. There are a few chains, such as the Chandris hotels consisting of four units; the Antix chain with more than half a dozen units; and the two Hiltons—one in Athens, the larger facility, and a relatively recent one in Corfu. But these are the exceptions to the rule.

One of the problems that most hotels face in Greece much of the year is common to most Greek businesses—inadequate cash flow, especially during the winter doldrums when the average occupancy rate for most hotels is about 25% to 40% of capacity, the variable depending on the class of hotel, its size and location, and other factors.

Another reality is the strength of existing labour legislation. Hotel employees must be given as much as a full month's vacation, reducing the effective working year to 11 months, to say nothing of as many as 18 holidays off. On top of that, valuable employees must be kept on the payroll year round, even when business is seasonal, as in the case of hotels.

As in other businesses, hotel owners pay not 12 months of salary a year, but as many as 14, if one includes, as an employer must by law, the mandatory full month Christmas bonus, as well as one half-month's salary at Easter and another half-month's salary for a vacation in the summer.

Another difficulty is that the double-pay December salary as well as the expensive upkeep and renovation work come during the slow season between November and April. This often forces hotel managers to borrow in order to meet day-to-day cash flow needs. They pay as much as 24% interest on the money they borrow. From May through October they must achieve as much as 100% occupancy to keep operating profitable. Many do achieve that occupancy in these months, especially the fashionable ones.

Athens has a specific problem of its own. As director Dousiadis says it the city is faced with its well-known lodging

on acute situation that should not have come about in the first place — a plethora of hotel rooms. Up to 1972 there was a shortage of rooms, particularly in the higher category hotels. Until that year, Dousiadis pointed out, there were no international airports in Rhodes, Corfu and Crete. And before then there were no airports at all on such islands as Limnos, Cos, Mykonos and several other islands. Every tourist had to pass through Athens to go anywhere in Greece. As the Greek government became aware of the then acute shortage of hotel rooms along with the ballooning influx of tourists each successive year it created incentives for rapid hotel construction in Athens. Within a few years, the city had doubled its hotel room capacity.

As it happened, the Greek government also built airports, small ones on many islands and occasional ones on Corfu, Rhodes and Crete. Thessaloniki is also served by direct international flights. These airports, in time, alleviated the congestion of tourists in Athens. Now there are four international airports, making it possible for tourists to fly directly to Rhodes, Corfu

or Crete, bypassing Athens. In consequence there now is an overabundance of tourists, and more hotels are continuing to be built in Athens. Two examples are the Athenaeum, an Intercontinental hotel on Syngrou Avenue and a luxurious smaller one on the corner of Queen Sofia and Panagiotismou Avenues, which is an addition to the Astor Hotel chain owned by the National Bank of Greece.

In their long-term efforts to channel and program tourism, the Greek authorities may have made a serious mistake by creating incentives for building more hotels in Athens and constructing three or more international airports. International charters from America and Europe are quite often flown directly to these new and major Greek island international airports, causing a severe strain on Athens hotel owners.

Mr. Doxiadis was quite frank in stressing this serious problem. "We may soon be faced with a tragic situation, for lack of occupancy, in which Athens hotel operators will be finding themselves increasingly unable to meet loan payments."

Another interesting statistical phenomenon is the fact that in 1972 about 300,000 American tourists visited Greece. In 1979 the number was still about the same. In the long term, as Mr. Doxiadis sees it, this signals a significant proportional drop in the numbers of American tourists, which may particularly affect higher-category hotels.

With the exception of the well-known Athens Hilton, the year-round occupancy of most hotels in Athens is now about 47% to 53%, which is barely a break-even occupancy. "Instead of finding solutions, we are building more hotels in Athens," Mr. Doxiadis stressed. "Athens now has about 5,500 luxury-rated beds and only about 4,500 first-class hotel beds. Things should be the other way around. We also have more first-class beds than some of the lower-class hotel beds. It's crazy. We are building a logical worldwide trend. We are going to break our heads that

luxury beds will be added — all in all, about 7,500 luxury beds in Athens. The end result might be that many luxury-class hotels will be converted to first-class hotels just to stay in business, charging correspondingly lower room rates despite the higher quality service. But that would not solve the problem. For the last three years, occupancy has been dropping, on an average, by about 3% per year. What Athens needs now is one or more major convention centers. Unless these are built soon, the dropping occupancy rate will become catastrophic, especially after 1982.

—JAMES A. CASE

When the Athenaeum Intercontinental opens in 1981, another 1,200

SUGAR PRODUCTION DECREASE REPORTED

Athens O OIKONOMIKOS TAKYTEROPOS in Greek 10 Apr 80 p 28

[Article by Giorgos Lampidis]

[Text] Two disturbing factors in the sector of Greek sugar production are creating certain justifiable anxieties in both the Ministry of Agriculture and the Greek sugar industry to whose intensive and arduous efforts are due not only the country's adequate supply of sugar, but also a surplus which in 1978 had reached 35,000 tons.

The first disturbing element is the drop in the 1979 sugar production which was expected to reach at least the 1978 level or 325,000 tons. The sugar industry is predicting that the 1979 production will reach just about 295,000 tons. We say "is predicting" because the sugar beet production is still being continued to this day (13 March) a fact which is unprecedented not only in Greece but in other countries as well--Italy, Spain, etc.--since the processing of the beets usually starts in the middle of July and ends early in December at the latest because until that period in December the climate conditions in Greece are somewhat tolerable.

This delay is due to the continuous rainfall during the whole of autumn and up until a while ago. It prevented the extraction of the beets "at the right time" because the fields were usually flooded and the producers waited for some break in the heavy rains to extract their product and bring it to the sugar processing plants. Thus, the Serrai plant worked on and off until 20 February while the Platy plant is still working. Of the 130,000 tons of beets submerged in water, only 120,000 tons were recovered and 10,000 tons were lost. It is hoped that this loss will be compensated by the Farm Insurance Organisation.

The rainfall not only has prevented the normal extraction of the beets and the continuous operation of the sugar beet processing plants but also has affected to a considerable extent the average sugar beet titer which from 14.77 in 1978 dropped to 13.89 in 1979. This also contributed to the decrease of sugar production. But the partial abstention of the farm associations at the peak of the [harvesting] "campaign"--thus rendering

the plants unable to operate at full capacity--was not a small factor in delaying the processing of the product.

All these factors contributed in decreasing the 1979 production which should have reached at least the 325,000-ton level since the best cultivating areas were the same as in 1978, that is, 450,000 stremmas. The 1979 production level (295,000 tons) just about covers the domestic demands and does not allow for any exports. At the same time, however, this decrease in production creates problems as concerns the further determination of the production percentage EEC will impose on Greece. As is known, the level of production percentage EEC will impose on Greece will be determined by the average production level of the last 3 years and it is on the basis of this average production that it will be decided whether Greece's sugar production percentage should be 90 or 92 percent. Greece, however, has proposed that instead of the 90 or 92 percent figures the country be allowed higher levels of sugar production.

Partial Unwillingness of Cultivators

The second disturbing factor is the noticed unwillingness of sugar beet producers to continue their cultivations. While in the past there had been a congestion of applications for cultivation permits which if granted would have tripled the beet cultivation land, in the past few years this enthusiasm has been dropping almost steadily. The applications submitted in 1978 by producers concerned 900,000 stremmas while the sugar industry plan provided for 450,000 stremmas. In other words, the number of stremmas asked for beet cultivation was double. In 1979 the number of stremmas the producers asked for beet production totaled 700,000 while the planned cultivation called again for 450,000 stremmas.

According to Ministry of Agriculture data based on information provided by the sugar industry, applications submitted by the sugar beet cultivators cover only 330,000 stremmas while the planned cultivation provides for 450,000 stremmas. The deadline for submitting applications was 31 March and it is doubtful if they will cover 400,000 stremmas.

What is the reason for this gradual decline in the cultivators' interest in sugar beet production? The sugar industry officials attribute this partial unwillingness of the beet cultivators to their interest in other competitive cultivations--maize, clover, etc.--which are more profitable and do not require such careful cultivation. Sugar beet cultivation is considered one of the most profitable ones and the prices paid to the producers are anything but low. Last year the price of the beets was 1,500 drachmas per ton and this year was fixed at 1,850 excluding the transportation assistance. It seems, however, that the care for beet cultivation is greater than for the other above mentioned ones. Perhaps this may be the reason for the cultivators' unwillingness and not the prices which are fixed by the state and which have already surpassed the EEC prices (which have not yet been announced and may be as high as

1,800 drachmas this year as the appropriate authorities of the Agriculture Ministry estimate compared to 1,650 drachmas last year).

The most important of the beet cultivators' demands was that submitted by the Imathia Farm Association which asked that the sugar beet price be increased to 2,500 drachmas for beets with sugar titer of 16 and to 2,000 drachmas regardless of sugar titer. In other words, the sugar beet price would be 40 percent higher than the Community prices and when we join EEC we will tell the producers that they must now reduce the prices because EEC so demands...

But, beyond this inconsistency, an increase in the price of sugar beets will considerably affect the sugar price at the expense of the consumers of whom at least 35 percent are farmers. And according to the thinking of the leader of the Imathia Farm Association, the struggle of the exploiters amounts to: "...let me take what serves my interests and let the rest hang." That's where the association's narrow interests lead--interests which theoretically are being protected by those who conduct the workers' struggle, and in this case the farmers' struggle...

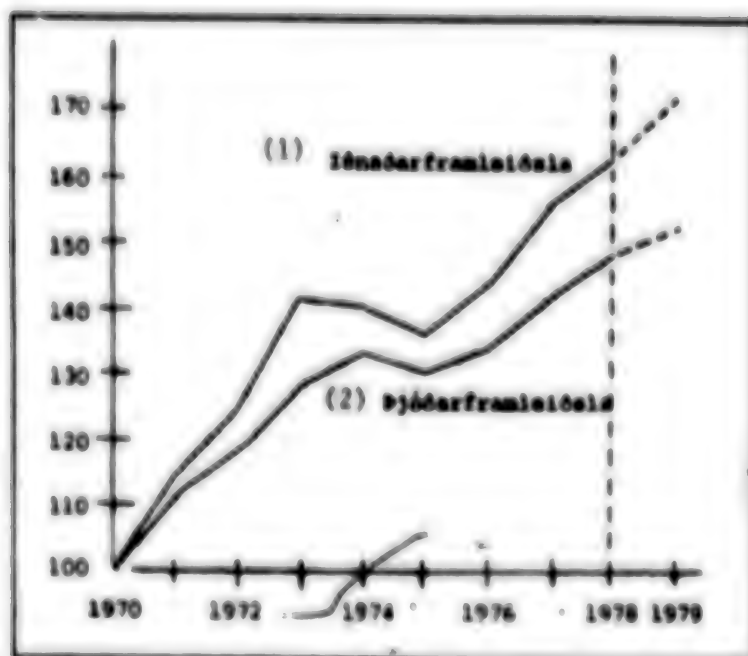
It would not hurt to exercise some logic when the farmers' demands are advanced. Logic persuades, while excessiveness destroys...

7520
CSO:4908

REPORT DETAILS INDUSTRY PROFIT PICTURE FOR 1979

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 29 Mar 80 p 17

[Text]



(1) Manufacturing industry production

(2) GNP

The above graph shows the development of manufacturing production and (as published) GNP during the years 1970-1979. The rapid growth of manufacturing production during the years 1970-1973 is of interest. This growth actually started in 1969, and it then increased close to 15 percent on the average, which was far above the growth of the GNP during the same time period. From 1973 manufacturing production has developed somewhat in the direction of GNP. It could be assumed, however, that the gap has widened during 1979 because of, among other things, the production of ferro-alloys which began during the year.

Industrial Economic Indicator: 4.5-5 percent increase in manufacturing production last year.

The movement of the Industrial Economic Indicator points to a considerable increase in manufacturing production during 1979 compared with the year 1978. If an attempt is made to evaluate the change in production, it may be estimated to be approximately 4.5-5 percent. This is a greater increase than a comparable increase for the year 1978, which according to the Economic Indicator was then 3-4 percent, but is similar to a development which had taken place during 1976 and 1977. During 1979 companies which had about 58 percent of the total manpower of the sampling, had increased their production but a comparable figure for the year 1977 is 74 percent. Explanations for this difference are that, on the one hand, the increase in production in some branches of industry during 1979 was considerably greater compared to 1977; and that on the other hand, the reduction in aluminum production has considerable influence on the manpower ratio.

The following summary is based on a sampling of 22 branches of industry, done by the Federation of Icelandic Manufacturers and the Federation of Icelandic Mastercraftsmen. The sampling is mainly based on "qualitative" indices from companies, that is data about changes is obtained in words not figures. In most cases, where exact data is not available, indications of the direction of changes rather than quantity indices are considered sufficient, in order for the Economic Indicator to serve the purpose of throwing some light on the development of the industry at the present time.

The share of the sampling compared with the number of work weeks in the respective branches of industry varies widely, from 4 percent to 100 percent. Conclusions for those branches of industry that have a low response ratio must be accepted with care. Following is a list of all the industrial branches that are in the sampling; the size of the sampling in percent is given compared with the total number of work weeks in the respective branches:

Bread-and cake industry	27%
Confectionary industry	64%
Food industry	9%
Beer and soft drinks industry	93%
Wool industry	95%
Knitted goods	31%
Fishing gear industry	69%
Garment industry	24%
Furniture and fixtures	22%
Paper carton industry	90%
Printing industry	21%
Tanning industry	87%
Light chemical industry	88%
Paint manufacturing	79%
Detergent and washing fluids	57%

Glass industry	26%
Mineral industry	31%
Aluminum industry	100%
Metal industry	21%
Shipbuilding and maintenance	48%
Automobile repairs	4%
Plastics industry	28%
Average	37%

Following are a few examples of some branches of industry:

Bread - and cake industry

Considerable increase in the production quantity and sales seems to have taken place in the bread-and cake industry during 1979 as compared with 1978. It can be estimated that the production increase amounted to 10 percent from one year to the next.

Confectionary production

If the year 1979 is compared with 1978, some increase seems to have taken place in the production quantity in the confectionary industry. It may be assumed that the increase in quantity amounted to 3-5 percent in all between years.

Wool industry

There are considerable seasonal fluctuations in the wool industry which can be concluded from previous Economic Curves. A considerable increase in production and sales took place during the fourth quarter of 1979 compared with the third quarter of the same year. The production increase amounted to almost 50 percent. On the other hand, the total production increase was considerably less between the years 1978 and 1979, or a little over 7 percent. Despite this great production increase during the fourth quarter, the number of employees and number of work hours, as well as the utilization of output, remained unchanged compared with the third quarter. Prospects for the first quarter of 1980 point to some production increase as well as a slow-down in sales. It is assumed that the number of employees will remain unchanged.

Furniture and fixtures

A slight slow-down seems to have occurred in this industry during the year 1979 when compared with 1978. It is estimated that production will be reduced about 4 percent. If the fourth quarter of 1979 is compared with the third quarter, the concluding figures point to about 6 percent production increase as well as sales increase of a similar quantity. This is a more favorable development than was expected according to the forecast.

of the latest Economic Indicator for the fourth quarter. There was a reduction of supplies of raw materials and finished goods during the fourth quarter. The number of employees decreased but there seems to have been little change in the utilization of output, normal work hours and bill collecting for sold merchandise. Prospects of development during the first quarter of 1980 point to some slow-down in this industry.

9583

CSO: 3111

WESTMAN ISLANDS USE 1973 VOLCANIC LAVA FOR HEAT

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 23 Mar 80 p 30

[Article by Bo E Åkermark]

[Text] The mayor of the Westman Islands, Pall Zophoniasson, interrupted his account, musing:

"There is a saying which fits so well into this context. What is it now? And what is the corresponding version in Swedish?"

It was not difficult to remember:

"It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good."

The ill wind, that was the big eruption in the night of 23 January 1973. The night when the extinct volcano on the Home Island came to life at 1.55 a.m., ejecting fire, stones and ashes into the sky of the night.

The following days: a Nordic small town lay hidden to the roof trusses in ashes, a lava flow threatened to put an end to the only harbor of the island and pushed in the walls of the fish canning factory.

Left on the island were around a hundred men, who tried to direct the flow of the lava by means of hastily erected defense works and water spraying.

At the time, there were many who thought that this was the end to the small group of islands south of Iceland, where approximately 5,300 people lived and worked as fishermen and in the fishing industry.

Now, 7 years later, 4,750 people live and work here more or less as before. In the assembly hall of the municipal council, in the small and neat town hall, we are sitting, talking about the good following in the train of the evil.

Fire Mountain

Páll Zophoníasson was municipal engineer at the time, in 1973. Three years later, he became mayor of the islands. He is a dynamic young man, around 35 years of age, a civil engineer, educated at Århus [Jutland, Denmark], who speaks Danish with an Icelandic accent, an excellent language which, most of all, resembles the dialect spoken in Bohuslän.

He was there, he is in a position to tell about it, and one can understand what he says:

1. The Westman Islands now got two mountain peaks instead of one. After 2 days of eruption, an entirely new mountain, 100 meters high, was standing next to the old Helga Mountain, and the Icelandic name commission gave it the striking name of Fire Mountain. There are not many places in the Nordic countries where one can point to a mountain, saying:

"That mountain emerged between 23 and 25 January 1973."

Things like that make an impression on tourists.

2. The Westman Islands now got a much better harbor than before. Ashes and lava became deposited in such an ingenious manner that the previously open, wind-swept harbor is now protected from the raging North Atlantic through a natural breakwater.

They were exciting days when the flow of lava threatened to close the harbor entirely. If that had happened, it would probably have been the end to the Westman Islands. But through a combination of luck, perseverance and technical skill, it became possible to avert such a disaster.

Trucks are now driving along the new pier, dumping ashes and solidified lava in order to strengthen the defense works of the harbor.

3. The Westman Islands--and this is the most important and nicest aspect of it all--now got its energy problems solved, certainly, for the next 20 years.

Nuclear Power--a Curiosity

There is not a single person here who is the least interested in nuclear power. Other than as a curiosity, of course.

District heating comes out of the ground. Forty percent of the town is already being heated as a consequence of the volcanic eruption. By the end of this year, the distribution network will be ready for the entire town.

According to a conservative estimate, there is sufficient liquid lava right under the surface to keep the plant in operation for 15-20 years.

And when that is exhausted, there will be alternative energy sources. There is much to be found in volcanic rock. Just think of Iceland till now. Reykjavik gets heat and hot water from heated subsoil water from the interior of the earth.

Not Important

In the Westman Islands, water of 60 degrees Centigrade has already been obtained through drilling. The geologists are hopeful. They will, no doubt, be able to find water of 100 degrees Centigrade as well, if they make the effort.

And, incidentally, this is not too important. The 40 million (Swedish) kronor which were invested in thermal plants have largely been spent on the district heating plant. When, or if, the liquid lava becomes exhausted, a plant will be ready which, if things should come to the worst, can be operated by means of imported energy.

Incidentally, it is possible to tap heat from the Gulf Stream passing by the island. In 20 years, this may, moreover, become profitable, who knows.

The system which will provide all of the 4,750 inhabitants of the Westman Islands with heat and hot water may be described in the following simple terms:

The steam which is formed naturally by water penetrating through the hot ashes to the even hotter lava (which still maintains approximately 1,000 degrees Centigrade) is collected in subterraneous compartments and conducted via heat exchangers to the town and the consumers in the form of hot water. If the natural steam which is formed from rain water, becomes insufficient, other water will be pumped down into the lava.

When the water has passed through the district heating network and has served its purpose in the heating element and the water heaters, the temperature of the water will have dropped to 40 degrees Centigrade. The water is then pumped back to the source of heat and will again have reached 80 degrees Centigrade when continuing its circuit.

Inexpensive

The system is simple, fairly free from maintenance costs, and since neither coal, nor oil, nor uranium will be involved in the operation, it is quite inexpensive.

"Imagine," says the mayor, "prior to 1973, we were seriously considering starting using electric heating here on the Westman Islands!"

It will not be possible to avoid oil imports completely. Gasoline is needed for the many cars. It is true that there are not too many roads on the Home Island on which one can drive, but, in this climate, cars are less a means of transport than protection against wind and weather.

People thus do not take walks up to the Fire Mountain, although the distance is short. They go by car on the black sides of the mountain, where steam everywhere is hissing from the deep black ground.

But it is only up here on the cone that the ground has still got a black sheen to it. You will probably remember the pictures from 1973. According to the color photos, the flames were emerging from the crater. Otherwise, the entire island would have been covered with ashes. The volcano ejected 2.5 million tons.

Now, 1.5 million tons have been moved and form the foundation for a new section of the town, for new excellent runways at the airport and new protective layers on the breakwater, created in the eruption.

On the old, extinct volcano, the Helga Mountain, trucks have been driving around with gigantic brushes, sweeping the ground clean. It now has the same greenish-gray color that the inhabitants remember from before 1973.

Younger Inhabitants

Already a year after the eruption, the Westman Islands were again a functioning society. The fishing fleet was again in the home port, cold-store and fish canning factories were in operation (one was operating all the time, by the way).

Of the 5,000 people who were evacuated to mainland Iceland, 1,700 remained there. But they have been replaced by 1,000 new, young inhabitants.

A total of 500 new houses have been built, and 150 of them are multi-family houses, which is a new thing. The new sports field is the pride of everybody, and it probably would not have come as quickly if it had not been for the fact that the old one was badly damaged in 1973.

The secondary school is under construction. Till then, students can take 2 years out of 3. There is a general technical line and a navigation and mechanic line.

There is connection by air to Reykjavik on all days, weather permitting. A car ferry connects the Westman Islands with the mainland of Iceland in 3.5 hours, and it operates practically every day, at any rate, more often than the airplane.

The volcanic eruption in 1973 created a new society with partly new inhabitants. But one group remained unswervingly loyal: of those who were over 80 when evacuated, all of them returned.

Panic got the better of the younger ones, they felt.

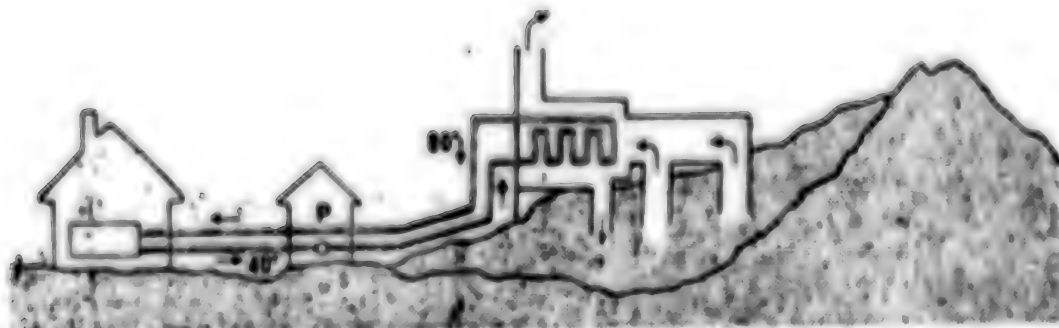
The happy consequences of the disaster on the Westman Islands, moreover, now make other Icelanders look with composure at the current eruption in

northern Iceland.

One night, with some justice, ask the question whether Icelanders are not like Tove Jansson's pappa, the Sculptor! that they love disaster.



Key: 1. Iceland
2. Home Island



In a heat exchanger, the steam taken out of the volcano heats the water to 80 degrees Centigrade. In a closed system, it is conducted, via a pump housing, to homes and other facilities to be heated. When returning to the district heating plant, the temperature has dropped to 40 degrees Centigrade, and the water will now be reheated.

7262
CSO: 3109

LEFTISTS' CONFERENCE WEIGHS POLITICAL DIRECTION FOR 1980'S

Euro-Communism, Green Influence

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 19 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Ottar Julsrud]

[Text] Lenin and Cuba have lost their ability to inspire the left wing in Norwegian politics in the same way Einar Gerhardsens social democratic model has been declared unsuitable for the 1980's. To fill the void--which is one of the main tasks of the Socialist Party of the Left--outlines are being presented for a "socialism Norwegian style." One of the most important contributions to date emphasizes such elements as decentralization, less power to the state and more to local government, ecological policies, and businesses owned by the people. The outline is being strongly criticized by more dogmatic Marxists, who maintain that class analysis and class struggle will disappear and be replaced by disputes among communes and local businesses--a kind of "civil war."

However, there are strong forces pointing out that Karl Marx' class analyses and his ABC of the intensified conflict between the proletariat and the capitalists has proven to be incorrect. Last season's slogans are no longer useful. Policies for the Norway of tomorrow must take into account the fact that there will be fewer industrial workers, while the new service-oriented jobs--the middle class--will increase sharply. And, as they say, there are no more socialist model states, at least for the great majority of Norway's socialists of the left.

But although there is a lack of models, there is no corresponding lack of bogbears. The West German society seems to rank especially high in this respect. The alternative to socialism Norwegian style is capitalism German style (now in Norway, too), it was stated at the opening of the large conference in Oslo yesterday evening.

Leftist forces have long spoken of their third alternative, i.e. a new deal with respect to social democracy and "traditional" communism. But it will certainly be a while before the socialist alternative is capable of inspiring

large numbers of people. It has not been so easy to find out exactly what it is they are offering us. Many of them lack a more or less complete vision of tomorrow's Norwegian society. This is part of the background of the conference on socialism in Oslo this weekend. It is actually an event in which 600 people from all parts of the country, from the center parties "green socialists" out to the Norwegian Communist Party and even further, are filling Folkets Hus to contribute to "socialism Norwegian style."

In a certain extent, the central idea behind the weekend's debate was taken from so-called Euro-communism. Other elements come from the green wave that characterized the political debate throughout the 1970's.

The vice chairman of SV (Socialist Party of the Left) Rune Slagstad, keynote speaker at the opening of the conference yesterday evening, stated that the great challenge is to unite the "new" problems--ecology, feminism, cultural revolution--with Karl Marx' theory of labor and capital.

The arranger of the conference has indicated that an ideological housecleaning is needed. As it is set up, the event could just as easily turn into a large-scale political flea market.

As stated, Slagstad's own model is locally based, in the communes. They would receive much more economic and political power than they have today. In this way, what he calls a counterforce would be established on the local level, for example against the large companies, to control the big capitalists. Alongside the increased popular power on the local level, the outline would mean a stronger role for parliament, so that the representatives would be better able to concern themselves with the broad trends of development and avoid detailed regulation.

The state should not act as entrepreneur, except in a few important branches and some special individual firms. Actually, there will be more state capitalism in Norway in the year 2,000 if the Labor Party and the Conservatives are in power, according to Rune Slagstad. Instead, many companies will become property of the people, an idea borrowed from the cooperative society. In addition, whether by negotiations or in some other way, genuine workers' control will be put into effect.

Behind these ideas, one gets the feeling that economic growth will be limited, that equilibrium will be the main principle of production--and also that the idea that state management is good for the people will be challenged.

The objections to this outline are many and this is being made known in Folkets Hus these days. Forces within Slagstad's party who have held tighter to their childhood belief in Marxism believe he is making a "major error" by placing geographic divisions--and not class struggle--at the foundation of his analysis. They say that decentralization can never be a principle of the worker movement's struggle. They also fear that the "ideology of

self-preservation" weakens the international dimension of socialism. The most skeptical among them indicate that the vice chairman of the Socialist Party of the Left, among others, has fallen victim to the wave of the right. These are the same forces that cling to the old idea of worker councils at the plants--and that consequently curtly reject the thought of a large-scale cooperative society.

From communists further out on the left wing come comments such as "opportunistic" (strong words among comrades), "lacking in class analysis" and "designed to liquidate and split the working class." Nor have debaters from the Labor Party's left wing had much good to say about the "communal socialism."

In these circles, a striking resemblance is seen between "socialism Norwegian style," populist currents, and the so-called revolt from the center, whose ideas have been reflected to an extent in the Future in our Hands movement. In addition, indications of a zero economic growth also elicit strong objections. And the trust in the communes' innate ability is seen as strongly optimistic--bordering on the naive.

The differences of opinion mentioned here, this field of tension between the green and the red, will also determine many of the attitudes toward the new technology, toward oil policy, and other topics taken up by the socialist conference's five subcommittees.

Address by Socialist-Left Chief

Oslø AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 21 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Ottar Julsrud]

[Text] Companies should be owned collectively by the employees--not by the state or by capitalists. Management should be coordinated with the local community. In his summary speech at the large conference in Oslo last weekend, chairman of the Socialist Party of the Left, Berge Furre, stressed this principle as a decisive aspect of "socialism Norwegian style." One political demand with general support during the conference was the six-hour work day for everyone--to be put into effect for everyone at once.

The background to the "socialism Norwegian style" conference, which gathered 600 people in Folkets Hus from Friday to Sunday, briefly stated is as follows: Both capitalism and social democracy are at the end of their road. The left needs to come to terms with its own sectarianism, i.e. with its conscious or unconscious dream of a new October Revolution. As a first step they have begun to tell the world what leftist socialism, and for example Euro-communism, is not.

But so what? What is the Norwegian left's answer to challenges such as the oil age, microprocessors, unemployment, and such? What is the vision and what is reality?

The chairman of SV (Socialist Party of the Left) admitted that he was not especially grateful for the task of summing up a 2-day, if not to say a 48-hour, difference of opinion in five different commissions. An almost endless number of problems and even more conflicts came to the fore. The ecology-minded were often accused of giving in to the forces of capitalism. The outline of worker control and employee funds was labeled a nicer form of capitalism. And so on.

Furre stressed "people's property," inspired by the idea of the cooperative society, as a decisive element in the Norwegian road to socialism. In accordance with this goal, at least four reforms are needed: The management right of company owners must be replaced by genuine workers' power, including among other things veto right in a number of central questions, and negotiations in matters concerning changes in production, new products, investments, personnel questions, etc. Then, according to the SV chairman, there is no way to avoid a debate over employee funds. Finally, employees must receive a majority on the industrial councils and a bank reform must lead in the direction of a national credit service.

Berge Furre outlined a step-by-step advance toward these goals. Positions of power shall be gained through union and political struggle, both from below at work places and from above through parliamentary organs--based on the "struggle of today." No other strategy is realistic or credible in our situation today, the chairman of the Socialist Party of the Left explained.

Furre also stressed, apparently as an answer to much of the criticism against this decentralization model, that socialism Norwegian style must also build on international solidarity. In addition, he said that a gradual effort to bring the Nordic countries closer together in an economic and political alliance--independent of the big-power blocks--is what will give us the most freedom of action and least tension in the Nordic countries.

Among the demands that undoubtedly would have had general support--if the conference had been provided with an apparatus for passing resolutions--was the 6-hour workday. Equal status in its broader meaning is part of the justification. However, in the commission that took up this topic in detail, there was a certain lack of unity concerning whether or not it was realistic to demand full pay compensation for the reduced hours and also to what extent such a reform would provide work for more people.

The debate over a guaranteed minimum income for all proceeded in the same vein. Such base pay is intended to even out the differences between the providers and the provided-for and between the actively employed and those receiving social insurance benefits. The debate also took up an arrangement providing for an income ceiling.

The conference also demonstrated that the left-socialists are struggling a bit with the concept "worker," i.e. with the very basis of the class struggle and the breakthrough of socialism. And perhaps industrial workers were not

the best represented group among the 600. Furre ascertained the necessity of bringing in the so-called new occupations, the "middle classes," in addition to small farmers and fishermen. We need many red-green alliances, he pointed out.

The Norwegian worker of today has more to lose than his chains, as the SV chairman pointed out. The lack of meat and potatoes is no longer a motivation for revolution as it was in the period between the wars. It is now more to the point to take over the conservative slogan "change to preserve." Much is being threatened in Norway--one of the world's best societies. We have a foreboding of that society's being distorted if the present development continues. And neither capitalism nor more state capitalism with increased bureaucracy is the way to go, Furre stated.

State's Power Concerns

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Apr 80 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Preaching socialism during the twenties was a relatively clear task. At that time, revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were stressed as necessary conditions for providing people with enough to eat. But in Norway of the 1980's and 1990's, the socialist viewpoint is not so clear. Creating a marketable socialism, designed to solve the urgent tasks of our modern society, is a job that is causing the Labor Party considerable headaches. The problems are no fewer for the Socialist Party of the Left.

At the large conference on "socialism Norwegian style" this past weekend, one could sense an admission that most people place a low value on an all-encompassing state government that regulates everything in detail. Further, it is also an interesting phenomenon that the left-socialists view increasing state power as a problem for the balance in the political and economic system.

But of course any genuine spreading of ownership rights is unthinkable in this camp. Thus, as an alternative, a new variation of public ownership has been conceived with ideas borrowed from residential cooperatives and from the cooperative society. As a general rule, the workers would own the factories collectively. Only especially important businesses of individual companies would be owned by the state in the traditional sense.

The party's chairman, Berge Furre, has declared this model to be a decisive aspect of future Norwegian socialism and a condition for the employee funds and management reforms that SV intends to fight for. These worker collectives would exercise their power in concert with the various local communities in a kind of communal socialism.

Among many other things, the newly won workers' power could be used to stop new technology, prevent layoffs, cutbacks, and elimination of jobs--or to change over to "alternative production." In addition, part of the profits would be placed into funds belonging to the collective or go to the labor movement centrally.

The statement by a former prime minister comes to mind: Norway is one country in the world and we must take the consequences of this. It seems important to us to ask how Norwegian companies can be built up to meet the international competition in the years to come and how we can create the necessary conditions to guarantee jobs and tax revenues and, in this connection, what changes we must carry out to maintain production and necessary overall returns. In any case, abolishing profits and the veto right are not ways to contribute to this process.

As it has been so appropriately put, the Norwegian worker of today has more to lose than his chains: among other things a car, a color television, and possibly a cottage in the mountains--as well as social and economic security in general. This is perhaps one of the reasons workers seem little interested in socialist experiments, whether they be red-green or dark red.

9336

CSO: 3108

BOURGEOIS PARTIES HEIGHTEN CAMPAIGN ON DEFENSE SPENDING

Ignores Swings in Economy

Oslø AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 22 Mar 80 p 11

[Text] Long-range defense planning can not be based on short-range swings in the economy, said the bourgeois majority in the Storting Defense Committee in regard to the recommendation on the Defense Commission's report on the direction to be taken by defense forces during the 1979-83 period. The recommendation, which was released yesterday, shows that the bourgeois parties advocate a greater emphasis on defense than the Labor Party, which is in the minority on the committee. The Labor Party believes that it is not appropriate to tie defense planning to an unalterable budget framework for a long time in the future.

In its recommendation, the committee unanimously emphasized Norway's large and special defense requirements. The committee points out that these requirements arise from conditions beyond Norway's controls: the country's geographical location in the critical zone between the superpowers and the proximity to the Soviet Union's great military activity in the northern areas.

"Norway must have a credible and effective national defense to be able to retain its political freedom of action, contribute to peace and stability in our area, and repulse armed aggression," said the recommendation. "Just as important for our security as our contribution to defense is our membership in the NATO Western defense alliance. In spite of the striving for reduced tensions in Europe, striving which Norway will continue to support, that is not a valid basis for a reduction of our defense contributions. In the present situation our relative defense capability must be maintained. That can only happen if the defense in future years is given sufficient economic resources, as the committee has pointed out earlier," said the recommendation.

Quick Help Must Be Available

It is emphasized as a clear assumption for our base policy that conditions must be such that Norway can get quick and effective help when necessary. Norway's constantly more exposed position on the north flank, and changing relative strengths at sea and in the air, are leading to a more difficult reinforcement situation. And the committee reminds that they have previously pointed out the need for the advance storage of heavy allied equipment as a condition of our base policy, for deploying of allied strength in an emergency and to make a show of strength immediately effective. It states that such storage would be under Norwegian control and maintenance responsibility and will not lead to the stationing of allied personnel in Norway.

On the economic framework, the committee was divided. The bourgeois majority, consisting of the Conservative Party, Christian People's Party, and Center Party advocates 4 percent growth in the first 5 years of the 15-year period, then 3 percent for the next 5 years, and then 2 percent for the last 5 years. That is in agreement with what the Defense Commission's cross-political majority recommended, as well as the authorities which testified before the committee. This included the commission's chairman and secretary general, the military chiefs of staff and experts, representatives of military organizations and conscripts, Defense Research Institute, defense officials, and political leaders. The Ministry of Defense, however, emphasized that the outlook for the country's economy is worse now than when the commission made its report. The chief of defense, on the other hand, pointed out that he regards it as necessary to increase defense appropriations above that advocated by the commission.

The majority noted that long-range defense plans can not be based on short-range swings in the economy. The development of the country's security situation and the tasks that the defense faces depend on circumstances that we mostly cannot control, but which demand our contribution of economic resources in the defense sector regardless of swings in our country's economy.

In addition, reference is made to the commission's view that a lower budget framework must lead to quantitative and qualitative reductions in the defense program that the commission has set forth. It would be inadvisable to lower the budget figures by stretching out the time for modernization of material and construction, while at the same time adhering to the recommended level of readiness.

Labor Party Turns Thumbs Down

The Labor Party constitutes the minority, which advocates the government's contribution to growth of three percent per year. That means that they turn thumbs down on the recommendation from the Defense Commission's cross-political majority--a commission which a Labor Party government established, and of which both Odvar Nordli and Ronald Bye were chairmen.

In its remarks, the committee minority pointed out that the Defense Commission's majority recommendation lays a good foundation for the advancement of broad cross-political unity for the principal lines of Norwegian defense policy. To retain the broad support for the principal lines of defense policy is the best basis for defense planning, they said. Nonetheless, the minority maintains that it is not appropriate to tie defense planning to a rigid budget frame for a long period in the future. Against the background of the uncertainty of economic predictions, the government's approval of NATO's growth goal of three percent annually during the period of 1979 to 1983 can serve as a satisfactory condition for further planning.

The minority continues: "Realizing that Norwegian contributions to defense, reckoned in kroner per inhabitant, is significantly larger than that of comparative European NATO countries, and that the government's position aims at fulfilling NATO goals of three percent annual growth, we find that the previous recommendation gives an acceptable point of departure for a satisfactory development of the defense in the program period." The minority will return to the more long-range plans when the announced material from the Ministry of Defense is at hand. It continues that the ministry, in a further follow-up, will evaluate the possibilities for a budget framework which will insure the fulfilling of the Defense Commission's intentions during the three five-year periods to 1993.

The committee unanimously assumes that the costs of operations and investments in the Coast Guard will continue to be in addition to the ordinary budget framework.

Labor Member's Retort

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Geirmund Ihle, Labor Party, member of the Storting Defense Committee: "The Growth of Defense Appropriations"]

[Text] It will be evident from the recommendations of the Storting Defense Committee that the bourgeois parties and the Labor Party are divided in their views on the growth profile of the defense forces to be sought in the coming years.

The bourgeois parties have recommended that for the next three five-year periods there should be a real annual growth in defense appropriations of four, three, and two percent respectively. That agrees with the recommendations of the Defense Commission. The government and Labor Party faction in the Storting Defense Committee have recommended an even growth in all three five-year periods of three percent per year.

In this connection, it is worth noting that among the NATO nations there is complete agreement that the member countries should strive for an annual growth in the defense budgets of three percent, exactly the growth that our

government has decided upon. Norway has also previously explained its satisfaction with NATO's goal in this matter, and in a Storting report the government has adhered to this position.

Today, no other European country has current plans to increase its defense budget beyond the three percent that has been agreed upon.

On the contrary, there have been doubts raised on several occasions about certain other member countries meeting this goal.

When the bourgeois parties in the Storting Defense Committee now recommend that the defense budget be increased by one percent more than the Government has proposed for the first five years, that may leave the impression that Norway is lagging behind other comparable NATO nations in terms of defense appropriations. That is not the case.

I have previously demonstrated in articles in AFTENPOSTEN that West Germany is the only European NATO nation which, in relation to the size of its population, has greater defense appropriations than Norway. Countries like the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, and Great Britain are significantly behind Norway when it comes to defense appropriations.

There are also indications that in a few years Norway could be the NATO country which has the largest defense appropriations in relation to its population.

In our country there is broad political unity in our defense, security, and alliance policies. More than most other democratic countries, there is also unity concerning the size of the appropriations for defense. This broad political unity is the best guarantee that in years to come we will be able to solve new problems in this sector. We should, therefore, preserve this political unity.

The defense budget for the current year, 1980, is about 8 billion kroner. The actual discussion of the growth profile of future Norwegian defense budgets concerns whether the budget for 1981 shall have a size corresponding to 103 or 104 percent of the 1980 budget. The 1980 budget is, as previously stated, among the highest in Western Europe in relation to our population.

Based on these facts I find the following conclusions obvious:

- As previously stated, NATO nations agree that the members will strive for a real growth in their defense budgets of three percent per year. It is a stated desire in Norway to fulfill this goal.

- Norway's appropriations for defense are already among the highest in Western Europe.

- No other European NATO country has plans for a higher growth in its defense budget than the Government of Norway has proposed.

- Against this background, there is a clear basis for reaching political unity on the growth profile for the Norwegian defense in the coming years.

- That has not happened, but it is important to understand clearly that the difference of views between the bourgeois parties and the Labor Party is a matter of one percent growth in an annual amount of about 8 billion kroner.

9287

CSO: 3108

REPORT URGES ANTI-TERROR FORCE FOR NORTH SEA FIELDS

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 9 Apr 80 p 5

[Article by Gunnar A. Johansen]

[Text] The government will soon take a position of the establishment of a specially trained anti-terrorist group that could be used against sabotage and terrorist actions at oil installations in the North Sea.

A study group consisting of representatives from the justice and defense departments recently presented a report, concluding that such a group should be established.

Defense Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg informed ARBEIDERBLADET that the proposal to establish an anti-terrorist group especially for the North Sea is a result of work by the so-called Stoltenberg committee, which was appointed in 1975.

"It is primarily the responsibility of the police to secure oil installations in the North Sea. But the armed forces can place men at the disposal of the police if it should become necessary. These men would be under the authority of the police during a possible mission," Stoltenberg says.

According to ARBEIDERBLADET's information, it is not a question of establishing a permanent group but the intention is to specially train marines from the navy and paratroopers from the air force for operations in the North Sea. By all indications, a group of between 40 and 50 men will be involved who could be mobilized in a short time for operations in the North Sea. It would be up to the police to decide if the anti-terrorist group should be mobilized.

Police Inspector Kaare Singaas of the Justice Department, who was chairman of the study group, confirmed to ARBEIDERBLADET that a report has been presented in which it is concluded that specially trained military forces should assist the police during possible terrorist actions on the Norwegian continental shelf. However, he did not wish to reveal any of the details of the report before the government had taken a position on the proposal.

On the British side, much progress has already been made in establishing a certain amount of preparedness against terrorist actions on the British shelf of the North Sea. The British have between 200 and 300 specially trained men who can be placed under police authority in case of an action. So far, Norway has noticed no criminal activity in the North Sea directed toward the oil activity itself or the installations on the shelf. However, the British have had several bomb threats but they have all turned out to be false alarms.

Police Inspector Singaas of the Justice Department says the possibility of joining preparedness with the British has been discussed for many years, but without results.

"But there are agreements between the chief of police in Stavanger and the appropriate police authorities on the British side and police in Emden, West Germany concerning mutual assistance in practical police work. We have also had people take courses in England, where more progress has been made with respect to preparedness than here," Singaas says.

So far the oil installations in the North Sea have not been targets for terrorist actions. The group now being proposed would primarily be specially trained for cases in which a platform was occupied or sabotaged. According to ARBEIDERBLADET's information, these specially trained forces could also be used for rescue missions during serious accidents. The Stoltenberg committee report points out the serious consequences a terrorist action or sabotage against the oil installations in the North Sea could have on the Norwegian economy. A production shutdown at one of the large fields on the Norwegian shelf could cause losses in the billions for both the Norwegian state and the oil companies.

9336

CSO: 3108

DEFENSE COMMITTEE ISSUES REPORT ON PERSONNEL SHORTAGES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 24 Mar 80 p 9

[Text] Personnel problems during the 80's in the defense forces are so extensive that they cannot be solved by rationalizing or organizational efforts alone, declares the Storting Defense Committee in a unanimous recommendation on the Defense Commission's report on the defense forces for the period 1979 to 1983. A number of other steps must be taken, states the committee, to increase the influx into the forces and to stop the loss of younger, highly qualified personnel. The committee also stressed the importance of reaching the goal for the number of service days per year of refresher training.

The Defense Committee notes that the greatest personnel problem in the defense forces is the replacement of the abnormally large number of military personnel leaving the services during the 1980's. Peacetime military personnel form the nucleus of the much larger forces which are to be assembled at the time of mobilization. The committee does not at this moment desire to take a position on the make-up and utilization of defense forces personnel for the next few years. The committee reminds that it previously emphasized the importance of an analysis of requirements as the basis for a personnel system. The analysis of requirements and the general organization plan for personnel have long been awaited and should appear in the near future.

A reduction in the number of personnel must not interfere with the primary functions of the defense forces which must be strengthened, emphasized the Defense Committee, which added that rationalizing and efficiency are seen positively in the personnel sector of the forces. But the personnel problems of the defense forces in the 80's are, according to the committee, of a dimension that cannot be solved by rationalization and reorganization alone. A number of other steps must be taken to increase the influx and stop the outflow of younger, highly qualified personnel, both military and civilian.

The committee is focusing on the questions of extending the total first-time service for conscripts from 12 to 15 months, expanding the use of reserve

officers, increasing training in North Norway as a contribution to improving the geographic balance, and arranging conditions to assure reasonable contributions by contract personnel.

The Defense Committee looks favorably on current developments for utilization of women in the defense forces, and desires to find a system which can activate reserve personnel. It is even more desired that the potential and capacity that the reserve personnel represent can be utilized.

The committee considers it important that the goal of about 400,000 man-days of refresher training per year be attained. That is a total for all branches of service. The established goal is not being reached, and the committee cites the Defense Commission report which says: "It is an important goal that refresher training and other mobilization preparations are brought up to a level which will give the services reasonable possibilities to carry out their tasks in wartime."

As to conscript personnel, the committee stated that for first-time personnel as well as those in refresher training it is important that their economic conditions and welfare are adequate. The committee warns that it will follow developments in these areas carefully.

Furthermore, the committee points out that they look favorably on the commission's recommendations that longevity wage increases be paid as well as bonuses to discharged conscripts who gain admission to civilian schools. The committee says that these matters will be developed soon. In the background is the objective to have the largest possible number of conscripts do military service, and with the resulting greater resources and more flexible utilization of manpower we may be able to reduce the losses we are experiencing today.

9287

CSO: 3108

CIVIL DEFENSE CONFERENCE CONSIDERS PREPAREDNESS ISSUES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 13 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Liv Hegna: "Civil Service in Civil Preparedness"]

[Text] Hurdal, 14 March--Civilian conscripts, who because of their conscientious objector status are excused from military service, will be able to serve as a valuable source of qualified recruits in various branches of civil preparedness. This thought was advanced by County Prefect Oddvar Berrefjord at the civil preparedness conference which is meeting in Hurdal. Within civil preparedness, personnel also make a meaningful contribution to peace, said Berrefjord.

As an example of the tasks within civil preparedness, Oddvar Berrefjord mentioned pollution control, environmental protection, and rescue service during catastrophes and accidents. "In addition, there are obviously social services and nursing tasks which civilian conscripts already do today," said Berrefjord, who stated that there are about 2,000 young men who are excused from military service each year.

"The law should not obstruct these first-term conscripts from entering civil preparedness," said Berrefjord, who understood that some of this group did not want to serve in the Civil Defense because it was connected with the military defense. Berrefjord believes that service in civil preparedness could not be considered of the same character.

"It is a question of making a humanitarian contribution which the individual person has trouble objecting to on moral grounds," said Berrefjord. He believes, however, that for practical and economic reasons, it is reasonable to permit the civilian conscripts to undergo training and instruction in Civil Defense sites in order to utilize existing classrooms, lodging facilities, and material capacity.

"After undergoing first-time training, they can be spread over the entire spectrum of tasks in civil preparedness in accordance with requirements," said Berrefjord.

Reasonable Budget Necessary

"Effective civil preparedness must be given the vital necessities, with the possibility of development in future years. A reasonable and realistic setting of goals must be that civil preparedness should have the same percentage budget increases as the military defense, that is to say three percent yearly." So said Director Tor Rolf Bryntesen of the Directorate for Civil Preparedness at a conference for Storting representatives and senior officials at Hurdal. Bryntesen believes that three percent will not mean such a great expense in the budget against the background of the modest appropriations that civil preparedness has today. Director Bryntesen added, however, that in certain areas a need for an additional all-out effort can be shown from time to time, and he mentioned the procurement of enough gas masks as an example.

Director Bryntesen maintained that pleasant things also happen within civil preparedness, such as the reorganization which was approved last year and is already making reasonably good strides. The authorities' decision to increase oil and grain storage was also pointed to as a positive achievement.

9287

CSO: 3108

STORTING MP: TIGHTEN MEASURES TO STOP SPYING ON TECHNOLOGY

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Mar 80 p 5

[Text] "Our technological society is vulnerable to industrial espionage, sabotage, and occupation. Not only can Norwegian firms lose their expensive commercial secrets which give them a necessary competitive advantage, but it is much more serious that foreign powers can in an instant obtain a complete overview of all the dangerous and necessary material in the country, and in whatever custody it may be," maintained Petter Thomassen (Conservative Party) in a debate in the Storting yesterday.

Petter Thomassen brought this matter up in connection with a debate about product control work in 1978, and he pointed out that this has special importance when the organization and administration of the product register is being planned.

"Retention of secrets and satisfactory security of strictly confidential data represents a considerable problem. If effective routines are not established in this area we risk the cessation of the delivery of important chemical raw materials and products from abroad," said Petter Thomassen, who expressed the hope that the previous defense minister, who has now taken responsibility for the Ministry of Environmental Affairs, will straighten this matter out.

Minister of Environmental Affairs Rolf Hansen declared his agreement that the establishment of a Norwegian product register is important, and that all possible controls must be established with other countries.

Cabinet Minister Hansen stated, furthermore, that the ministry will shortly establish new regulations for lead, which will be made applicable to low octane gasoline from 1 October of this year. It will not apply to high octane gasoline for technical reasons until 1983. The leader of the parliamentary group of SV [Socialist Party of the Left], Hanna Kvanmo, desires a lower lead content in gasoline, which SV encouraged back in 1973.

BOOK PREDICTS POLITICAL COURSE IN 1980's

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 12 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Egil Sundar]

[Text] "The new decade is almost crying out for a stable and dynamic government that actually has the political basis to govern the country in a rather decisive period." The quote is from Reidar Hirsti, ARBEIDER-
BLADET's former editor-in-chief, who together with Associate Professor Jens A. Christophersen attempts to look into the new decade in the book "Norwegian Politics in the 1980's." And both of them ask the question: Are we entering a new period of weak governments and attempts at non-government? Will we again experience a decade of weak and vacillating governments?

Those who have a hand on the pulse of Norwegian politics and experienced what the changing minority governments of the seventies entailed must look forward to the possibility of creating a government with a sound and secure majority behind it in parliament, although even a majority government does not necessarily bring a completely troublefree existence. It can still be terribly dramatic at decisive moments. As we know, the last majority government was Borten's nonsocialist coalition, which ended in inner strife and brought itself down in 1971. For nonsocialist coalition efforts, it was a costly experience, a tragic breakdown, the more so since the Borten government was characterized by one of the richest periods of growth and reform in our recent history.

There are many indications that the 1980's will be a difficult political decade. If we are to overcome the problems facing our country and at the same time take the opportunity to create a better Norway, we will need central political guidance with the ability to exercise steady leadership. It goes without saying: we need a government that can avoid spending all its time and energy fighting for its life in parliament. We must strive to create a government with the possibility of making consistent decisions, based on the needs of society.

Neither of the large parties, Labor or the Conservatives, can count on becoming large enough to govern alone in the 1980's. But what can the alternative be to the present government? Neither Christophersen nor Hirsti has a clear opinion about that. Christophersen says the Conservative Party is clearly making progress but he adds--correctly--that it is still an open question as to whether this progress will be sufficient to make the Conservatives the dominant party in Norwegian politics. This possibility cannot be denied and Christophersen can also imagine a stable coalition. But such a coalition must be "hammered together" in advance, and in a thorough and convincing fashion.

Hirsti is content to say that all indications point to a decade of minority governments and coalitions. This can easily lead us into years without guidance, with weak and vacillating leadership of the country, he writes. With the distribution of duties we have in our democracy today, it is often necessary to have a strong government--with a secure majority in parliament--to obtain a deliberate and systematic leadership of the society. A government that must constantly fight for its life often has little ability or opportunity to govern in the true and reasonable sense of the word. Parliament is not made to govern and it cannot replace the government. And then there are other forces--outside the popularly elected organs of leadership and control--that will make their mark on events. That could be fatal in a decade in which so many vital questions will require long-range and national answers.

With that statement, Hirsti touches on a central point of today's situation, in which the ruling minority government must struggle from issue to issue to secure the needed majority for its policies. The result is lack of efficiency and limited possibilities for consistent political direction. And when it comes to the effects of this lack of direction, the evaluations of Christophersen and Hirsti clearly coincide.

Christophersen writes, with a weak government, there is reason to assume that influence and power will be transferred neither to the voters nor to parliament, but rather they will shift from the governmental level to other, lesser known actors, such as the large organizations within the unions and industry or to the extensive bureaucracies. And mind you, this means a shift not only to the public bureaucracies of the state and the communes, but also to the growing bureaucracies in private business, a phenomenon that Christophersen believes there is a regrettable tendency to neglect when the topic of bureaucracies is discussed.

Even if not everything depends on the government, there are a number of decisions that only a dynamic government will be capable of making, Christophersen maintains. Then he makes a statement that, naturally enough, will arouse very strong objections. Christophersen writes:

It is in this connection and only in this connection that the clear progress of the Conservative Party, to a certain extent, can cause concern.

And it is not in any way a question of the political goals of the Conservatives. That topic will not be discussed in this regard. But with respect to all the parties, it is still an open question as to whether the political goals are not secondary to the actual ability to govern, to being capable of governing. The previous successes of the Conservative Party, both in 1909 and 1921, did not herald the beginning of periods of stability on the governmental level. But on the other hand it is not written in the stars that it must be this way of necessity. We are not speaking of a natural law. The Conservative Party with a majority of its own could undoubtedly govern but the Conservative Party in an unstable coalition is something completely different.

This, according to Jens A. Christophersen. Now there is no "natural law" stating that a government that includes the Conservative Party would not be dynamic or incapable of governing. That may be some consolation for the present Conservative Party, which clearly has as its goal to govern the country with resolve and vigor, even if it should be in a coalition with other parties. That a coalition government, to varying degrees, would be characterized by disagreement and tension is beyond doubt and it is consequently of importance that governmental cooperation be thoroughly prepared to avoid splits based on trivialities, at least. But comparing the Conservative Party of today with the party in 1909 and 1921 can only be of academic interest, if developments in Norwegian politics from 1963 to the present are taken into account.

When the Borten government started to come apart at the seams after the first 3 or 4 years, it was for reasons with which I must assume Jens A. Christophersen is familiar, but which for some inexplicable reason are missing from his account. There was hardly one among the old parties that could have managed the EG affair, with the exception of the Conservatives. Events within the Labor Party following the change of power in 1971 show that there was a movement underway that triggered a veritable earthquake in Norwegian politics and that, among other things, resulted in a deep split in our largest party. And when Christophersen correctly points out that the coalition government of 1965 to 1971 was never fused into a single unit, he should also elucidate in this connection the role Per Borten played as day-to-day leader in the government's work. In his memoirs, John Lyng gave a very accurate description of the unique problems facing that government.

But the point in today's situation, as in 1963, 1965, and 1977, is that the nonsocialist parties in parliament are determined to take joint responsibility for the government when conditions in parliament are right. Christophersen seems to have a somewhat exaggerated concern for what the altered balance of power between the Conservative Party on the one hand and the two so-called middle parties on the other will mean in terms of complicating any future governmental coalition. No one should close his eyes to the fact that there is a problem here but experience--from other countries as well--shows very clearly that the smaller parties in a

coalition have a greater influence than their numbers would indicate. This is a reality that must be emphasized, as it certainly will be.

The following should be noted with regard to the governmental alternatives in the present situation:

If the income-regulation law had caused the Nordli government to fall before Christmas, then the formation of a nonsocialist coalition government, by all indications, would have created fewer problems than a similar government formation earlier in the postwar period. This is because the Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party, and the Center Party considered it of the utmost importance to give the country leadership. They also had, for the most part, a common political goal to work toward. There is hardly reason to doubt that in such a coalition the Conservative Party would have known how to make its influence felt.

9336

CSO: 3108

ASSOCIATION CHAIRMAN: SHORTAGE OF RESEARCHERS BY YEAR 2000

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 14 Apr 80 p 6

[Article by Gunnar A. Johansen]

[Text] In the course of the next 15-20 years, there will be a disastrous shortage of researchers at Norwegian universities. The reason is the big expansion in the sixties, with the subsequent halt to the creation of new positions in the seventies.

The effect of this will, in about 15-20 years, be a rush-like departure of researchers. The normal training of researchers will only be covering approximately half the needs.

It is the chairman of the Norwegian Research Scientists' Association, Per Schioldborg, chief research fellow, who tells ARBEIDERBLADET this. In his opinion, only extraordinary measures will save the situation.

At its board meeting these days, the Norwegian Research Scientists' Association will be dealing with the problems in connection with the recruitment of researchers. Per Schioldborg states that figures will be presented to the meeting, showing the serious nature of the situation.

"We are prepared, in cooperation with the government and research institutions, to evolve a solution to the problem. But it is quite obvious that extraordinary measures will be needed to prevent the work at our research institutions from coming to a complete halt," Per Schioldborg says.

The sixties saw an enormous expansion at our universities. Many new positions were created. The result of this is that the majority of the country's researchers today are between 40 and 50 years old. The halt to the creation of new positions in the seventies has led to a stoppage of the recruitment.

"We have got a very uneven age distribution among the country's researchers. We used to have an even distribution, which led to an even rate of retirement, with corresponding recruitment. The high rate of retirement in 15-20 years cannot be covered on the basis of the present number of researchers who are being educated. Calculations show that, around the year 2000, we shall have a shortage of approximately 60 university lecturers per year," says Per Schioldborg.

The Research Scientists' Association will now take the initiative to having several of the recruitment positions changed into permanent positions. They also want a more flexible arrangement under which it will be possible to adjust the ratio of permanent positions and so-called recruitment positions (scientific assistants and research fellows), as the need changes.

"The situation today is that extremely few dare take on uncertain recruitment positions, as long as the prospects of permanent jobs over the next few years are as poor as they are today. Only in 15 years will the need arise at full force," Schioldborg states.

Incidentally, the Research Scientists' Association has proposed that the recruitment positions of scientific assistants and research fellows be combined. It has, furthermore, proposed the introduction of sex quotas during certain period to ensure the recruitment of women for research positions. The Research Scientists' Association today has 30 member societies with over 3,000 members and will be celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary this year.

7262

CSO: 3108

BRIEFS

POWERPLANT FOR SVALBARD--Store Norske Spitsbergen Kulkompani A/S has now received the government's approval to accept bids for the building of a new powerplant in Longyearbyen. The difficult task of supplying Longyearbyen with power dictates that work on the plant must begin as soon as possible. Thus, the intent is to present a proposal to parliament already this spring for an additional appropriation of 20 million kroner in the 1980 budget. Plans for the powerplant, developed by NVE (Norway's Watercourse and Electricity Service) on commission from Store Norske, include building a new coal-operated steam plant with a normal capacity of 8 MW. In addition, certain supplementary investments have been proposed to connect the plant to remote heating facilities. Last fall one of the two main boilers at the powerplant in Longyearbyen stopped operating. Store Norske has estimated the cost of repairs but after consultation with the Boiler Inspection Service and Norwegian Boiler Organization, it was decided that the facility should be replaced. Investment requirements for the entire facility will be around 100 million kroner, distributed over the next 4 years. Work will begin already this year but the delivery times for the machinery are long. The company plans to have a boiler in operation beginning in the fall of 1981 and have the remaining installations complete by the winter of 1982-1983. [Text] [Oslo NORGES HANDELS-OG SJOPARTSTIDENDE in Norwegian 8 Apr 80 p 7] 9336

SVALBARD DEVELOPMENT STUDIED--Justice Minister Andreas Cappelen is currently on Svalbard to acquaint himself with conditions on the Arctic Ocean islands and, among other things, he spoke at a meeting of the Svalbard Labor Party and the Longyearbyen Labor Association. Einar Gerhardsen was at that same meeting and he spoke informally on the topic "From Slaves to Free Men." In early May, Finance Minister Ulf Sand and Industry Minister Lars Skytoen will also visit Svalbard to familiarize themselves with conditions up there. The task involving the largest investments on Svalbard over the next few years is that of developing Svea into a new mining community. This originally involved extensive and ambitious plans, which were later revised. Authorities must first decide on the rate of development and the extent of the Svea project. [Text] [Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 10 Apr 80 p 3] 9336

CSO: 3108

ALVARO CURRAL ON AGRARIAN REFORM, ATTACKS GOVERNMENT

Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 17 Apr 80 pp 6, 7

[Speech by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party; time and place not indicated]

[Text] Comrades:

We have just attended the 4th Agrarian Reform Conference and heard in this rally information on its conclusions and results. An event with far-reaching importance to the Agrarian Reform is involved.

But also a great event in the nation's political activity, a highly valuable contribution to defense of the democratic regime, is involved.

The 4th Conference showed that, under fire by the criminal offensive of the reactionary government, the Agrarian Reform is still standing and standing well, facing up to the situation and ready to win.

I should like first of all and right now to express total support of the conclusions of the 4th Conference and the tasks that it assigns to the workers and to every democrat.

The Agrarian Reform: Glorifying, Historic Conquest

In the area of large landholding, the Agrarian Reform met a real national need.

Large landholdings and the power of the large landholders -- with abandoned fields, low-yield primitive agriculture, chronic unemployment of farm-workers -- were a sign of our country's economic, social and political backwardness and an obstacle to the economic development, to the well-being of the workers, to social progress.

In our country, the Agrarian Reform was undertaken with a delay of over half a century. Liquidation of large landholdings and of the power of the large landholders had been for over half a century not only an aspiration to social justice, but also an indispensable requirement for the development of agriculture and, in general, Portugal's economic development.

With the expropriation of large landholdings and the turning over of land to those who work it, the Agrarian Reform was not (and is not) merely in the interest of the workers. It was and is in the interest of agriculture and its development. It was and is in the interest of the nation's economy. It was and is in the interest of the people and in the interest of the Portuguese nation.

When, with the Revolution, the farm-workers began to occupy fields and, overcoming every difficulty and obstacle, cleared them and cultivated them, they began to carry out an eminently national and patriotic task that is now cause for pride, not only by the Agrarian Reform workers, but also by all Portuguese workers.

We rightfully say that the Agrarian Reform is "the finest conquest of the Revolution."

The finest conquest, because, as was demonstrated more than abundantly in the conference, for the first time in the history of Portugal workers liberated from exploitation took charge of the land, organized and managed agriculture, promoted cattle-raising (doubling the number of head of cattle) and, in a short time, achieved a complete change of agrarian structures, diversification and progress in production, elimination of unemployment and a radical improvement of the living conditions of the farm-workers.

The finest conquest of the Revolution, because, as was overabundantly demonstrated in the conference, the farm-workers, who were managing their UCs (expansion unknown; probably Union of Portuguese Farm-workers) and cooperatives independently and were overcoming constant attacks by successive governments -- cutoff of credit, lack of technical support, obstacles to product marketing, theft of cork and, starting with the PS (Socialist Party) government alone up to now, reserves and an offensive directed against the UCs/Cooperatives -- bought machinery, built small dams, set up shops, more than doubled the irrigated area, doubled the area of fodder plantings, at the cost of hard work, sacrifices, of a constant struggle, confirming in activity that, although landholders cannot live without farm-workers, the farm-workers only really began to live when they were liberated from the landholders.

The finest conquest of the Revolution, because, as was overabundantly demonstrated in the conference, by putting work and agriculture in the service of the well-being of man, the farm-workers performed social and cultural jobs, setting up day nurseries, kindergartens and senior-citizen centers, creating, finally, the pleasure and joy of working and living.

The finest conquest of the Revolution, because the Agrarian Reform has demonstrated (as also happened in the case of worker control) that the workers are entirely capable of taking Portugal's economy and future in their hands, that, in Portugal, the future of democracy is socialism.

UCPs/Cooperatives: Appropriate Organization

The Sa Carneiro government and all the reactionary forces are making a large-scale campaign against the UCPs/Cooperatives, in their offensive against the Agrarian Reform. They say that they are not the proper forms for organizing the new farms resulting from the Agrarian Reform.

Only profound ignorance or refined falsehood and demagoguery on the part of ministers, secretaries of state and high-level MAP (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries) officials can lead to the statement that the form of organization of the UCPs/Cooperatives "is wrong" and that the Agrarian Reform in Alentejo and Ribatejo could have been implemented by setting up small family farms on large landholdings.

The PPD/CDS (Popular Democratic Party/Social Democratic Center Party) government, the government of the CAP (Portuguese Farmers Association) and of large landholders, is engaging in large-scale demagoguery in talking about small farmers. It is trying to set the small farmers up against the farm-workers, but in order to use the small farmers against the Agrarian Reform.

The statement according to which the government is supposed to be taking land from the UCPs/Cooperatives to give it to small farmers and tenant farmers is a dirty lie.

What the PPD/CDS is doing is merely destroying the UCPs to turn the land over to the large landholders, to restore large landholdings and exploitation by large landholders.

If the government wanted to give land to the small farmers, then it would merely have to do what the Agrarian Reform workers have been demanding for a long time and what was stressed by the 4th Conference: turn over to small farmers land from the 700,000 hectares subject to expropriation still in the hands of large landholders.

With regard to the organization of the UCPs/Cooperatives, the solutions found are perfectly appropriate to the concrete situation.

The agrarian structures (with an absolute predominance of large landholdings and extensive monoculture), the social composition of the farm population (with an absolute predominance of the rural proletariat, over 95 percent, and a small weight of the rural inhabitants in the region); the characteristics, habits and traditions of the rural proletariat would regard division and distribution of large landholdings in small farms as absurd.

These same conditions led the rural workers to establish large-sized and medium-sized units, with the collective activity of the workers.

The experience of 5 years has shown that the form of economic organisation established by the rural workers -- the UCPs and cooperatives -- with democratic collective management and constant work to diversify crops and to increase the number of head of cattle and the settlement of an appropriate area is an affirmation of the initiative, of the organizational capability and of the creative spirit of the Agrarian Reform workers.

The Agrarian Reform of the large landholding region, the Portuguese Agrarian Reform consecrated in the Constitution of the Republic, is not what technocrats, aloof from life, think it should be or what those who want to destroy it say it should be.

The Agrarian Reform consecrated in the Constitution is that reform that was undertaken, motivated and developed by the heroic farm workers of Alentejo and Ribatejo.

That is the Agrarian Reform that exists. That is the Agrarian Reform consecrated in the Constitution. That is the Agrarian Reform for which we are struggling. That is the Agrarian Reform that will win out.

The People's Heroic Struggle

Farm-workers are struggling in defense of the Agrarian Reform with the firm certainty of the justice of their cause.

That struggle is evidence of the high degree of class awareness, firmness, spirit of combat, bravery and heroism of the farm-workers in Alentejo and Ribatejo.

The struggle of the farm-workers in Alentejo has given rise to the admiration of all the workers and every true Portuguese democrat. It has crossed frontiers and appears in the eyes of the world to be a lofty example of the struggle of the Portuguese people in construction and defense of Portugal of the April Revolution.

We here salute the farm-workers of Alentejo and Ribatejo for their ceaseless battle in the implementation and defense of the Agrarian Reform, for the constant, powerful concentrations, demonstrations and work-stoppages, for their courageous resistance to the illegal turning over of reserves, to the thefts of machinery, cattle, facilities and other property and to the acts of vandalism by the MAF supported by the GNR [Republican National Guard].

We here salute the women of Alentejo and Ribatejo, who are always in the front line of battle. They are giving unsurpassable evidence of courage, spirit of combat and confidence. They still have, as they always have had, major importance in starting, defending and developing the Agrarian Reform. Through their struggle, they have become a true symbol of the Portuguese woman of 25 April.

We here salute the youth, the ardent detachment of the Agrarian Reform to which they are devoting their energy, their vigor and their confidence in the future and for which they have already demonstrated by deeds that they are ready to give their life.

We here salute the unified Agrarian Reform organizations (UCPs/Cooperatives and their unions and secretariats) and the labor union and other class organizations for their determining role in the whole Agrarian Reform process.

Every generation is participating in the struggle in defense of the Agrarian Reform.

We see men and women of all ages side by side. We see old people and young people and even our children living on the battlefield of social and political combat. They come with their parents, because they too are already fully aware of what the Agrarian Reform represents for their present and their future.

When every generation is seen participating in the struggle, when the whole people rise up united for the struggle, we can be confident that victory is assured.

Democratic Legality and Order

The PPD/CDS government and all the reactionary forces accuse the farm-workers in Alentejo and Ribatejo of not respecting democratic legality and order and in their struggle.

But, truthfully, who is defending democratic legality? Can democratic legality be defended by a government that deliberately violates the country's fundamental law, the Constitution? A government whose arbitrary action is not even covered by the famous Barreto law? A government that, in violating the law, has as its sole aim restoration of large landholding and the power of large landholders as rapidly as possible and that, in fact, has already achieved this in many cases? A government that does not comply with the most elementary democratic rules, that practically violates laws and legality in every decision that it makes?

No. While the government has become, by its action, an "outlaw" government, the farm-workers are putting their struggle in the strict framework of the Constitution of the Republic, in the strict framework of democratic legality.

This position gives the farm-workers great strength and, therefore, certain calls for armed struggle being made in Alentejo in the present situation by those who did not do this when they had half of the potential of Portuguese Armed Forces under their command can be regarded as provocation.

And with regard to democratic order, who defends it?

Can democratic order be defended by the PPD/Sa Carneiro government, which throws the most brutal violence of the GNR against unarmed farm-workers, which protects and encourages groups of farmers and armed mercenaries who cause the workers to be beaten, bitten by fierce dogs, shot at, without sparing women, old persons and children?

No. With that kind of activity, the government not only does not defend but, rather, violates democratic order daily.

The farm-workers are the ones who defend democratic order, who display extraordinary calmness, who have defended their land, their machinery, their cattle peacefully up to now and whose basic demand is for the government to let them work in peace.

The offensive of the PPD/CDS government against the Agrarian Reform is a demonstration of its absolute lack of respect for democratic legality and order.

The government's offensive against the Agrarian Reform is unrestricted fascism.

The Portuguese people are determined to struggle so that fascism may not occur. And fascism will not occur!

Serious Failures of the Government

The PPD/CDS government is trying to foster the idea that nothing and no one can resist its offensive to liquidate the Agrarian Reform and the other conquests of the Revolution, its plan to prepare an election masquerade, to restore the economic and political power of the monopolies (associated with imperialism) and of the large landholders, to liquidate the democratic regime, to establish another dictatorship.

It is indispensable for the violence of the reactionary drive against the Agrarian Reform not to shake the confidence of the farm-workers that it is possible to bear up under that offensive, that it is possible to defeat the reactionaries, that it is possible to throw Sa Carneiro out into the street.

The PPD/CDS government is singing victory, but its policy is already undergoing serious failures.

The Reactionary Alliance announced, in its election campaign, that it was going to solve the serious problems of Portugal's economy.

But, to tell the truth, by adopting a policy that has as its objective not economic recovery but, rather, capitalist recovery, by adopting a policy

that clashes headon with the new state of affairs in Portugal created by 25 April, the government not only has not solved any of the large problems of Portugal's economy, but, rather, it is making them all worse.

We are witnessing not a revival of the economy but stagnation of the nation's production, an increase in the rate of inflation, a rise in the unfavorable balance of trade and in the deficits of the general budget of the state, another upward leap of the state's debts and a brutal worsening of the living conditions of the workers and of the Portuguese people in general, creating situation of real poverty for those workers earning the lowest wages, the unemployed, retired persons, handicapped persons.

The Reactionary Alliance also thought that it could rapidly and easily restore the vigor of the unrestrained exploitation of the period of fascism.

But the strong resistance by the working class (the large-scale strikes, concentrations and demonstrations) is obliging the government to give way, in many cases.

It froze 40 collective conventions, but it was obliged by the powerful struggles of the workers to unblock and announce 38.

It declared several "enterprises to be in a difficult economic situation," but it was obliged by the powerful struggle of the workers to give way in several cases, like the cases of the ANA-EP (expansion unknown), of the RDI (expansion unknown) and of SOREFAME (expansion unknown) whose workers we salute from here for that first important success in their grandiose struggle.

The Reactionary Alliance also thought that it could rapidly and easily liquidate nationalizations and restore the monopolistic groups.

The unconstitutional establishment of private banks and insurance companies was included in its government program. It decided to open up nationalized sectors unconstitutionally to private capital. Unconstitutionally, it assumed competency to make laws on this subject and another grossly unconstitutional law on the delimitation of the public and private sectors, which would immediately jeopardize nationalizations, if it should be followed through.

But the democratic institutions functioned. The organs of sovereignty responsible for judging on the constitutionality of laws took the only possible stand and the CR [Council of the Revolution] declared that law unconstitutional.

What does this decision mean? It means that, for the time being, the government's plan to establish private banks and private insurance companies in the near future, to put the nationalized sectors at the mercy of the large Portuguese and foreign imperialist capitalists, to begin immediately to restore the monopolistic groups was blocked.

A serious failure of the policy of the Reactionary Alliance and of its government is involved.

A first great victory of the institutions and of democratic legality over the reactionary government's unconstitutional, subversive policy is involved.

The Agrarian Reform Will Win Out

And what about the Agrarian Reform?

Of all the government's offensives it is the most violent and brutal one.

The government has bitten and bitten deeply into the Agrarian Reform with thefts of land, machinery, cattle, harvests and other property.

But the heroic struggle of the Agrarian Reform workers is showing that it is premature for farmers to be singing victory.

The offensive by the farmers and the reactionaries to destroy the Agrarian Reform and the struggle of the workers to defend it is a great social and political war that will take its time.

Although the farmers, supported by the MAP and by the GNR, have won some battles -- making off with land, cattle, machinery, facilities and other property -- the struggle makes it possible to state that they will end by losing the war.

We wish to say here to the workers in destroyed UCPs/Cooperatives:

Comrades, in spite of the difficult times through which you are going, the struggle must be continued firmly and confidently, until the UCPs/Cooperatives now destroyed resume activity (and they will resume it) with their land, property and rights.

Comrades, today they are advancing; tomorrow we shall make them retreat. Today they are taking land; tomorrow they will again have to let go of it.

By their nature, the reserves snatched illegally from the UCPs/Cooperatives and turned over illegally to farmers or henchmen without any right to reserves are useless.

A usurpation that has to be corrected and that will be corrected is involved.

The farmers have no right whatsoever to what has been turned over to them by the MAP illegally and arbitrarily.

We have stated and continue to state that the workers have a right to their places of work. They have a right to land, cattle, machinery, to hanging fruit. They have a right to take care of what they have sowed and planted and to gather the crops growing on land that has been stolen from them for illegal reserves.

The reactionaries should not believe that we are intimidated by the accusation that we are inciting to civil disobedience and to insurrection by the fact of our defending the legitimate rights of the farm-workers and the Agrarian Reform against the unconstitutional, illegal, arbitrary, criminal action of the PPB/CDS government.

The struggle is continuing and will continue until the reactionary offensive has been stopped, until democratic legality has been restored, until injustices and abuses have been righted, until the Agrarian Reform continues its normal development.

The objectives and grievances of the 4th Conference contained in the Proclamation that we heard read a short time ago, are entirely just.

I do not repeat them, in order not to overextend my time and because they are still fresh in our memory, since they were read a short time ago.

Attainment of those objectives is a requirement for illegality, violence, brutality, destruction finally to be replaced by productive, creative work, public law and order and peace.

I wish right now to state here that we support those objectives entirely and that we shall persevere in our efforts for their attainment.

The Right to Land

The Agrarian Reform involves a number of aspects pertaining to production, technology, organization, marketing, wages, social works.

But the main problem of the Agrarian Reform is the problem of land, the problem of the right to land.

The reactionaries say that the large landholders have a right to the land on large landholdings.

We say that the only ones who have a right to the land on large landholdings are the farm-workers and small farmers.

The farm-workers have won the right to the land of the large landholdings with the work of generations, from parents to children, clearing, plowing, planting, cultivating, pouring their sweat and undergoing their poverty, while the large landowners snatched the wealth produced, without doing anything, without producing anything.

The farm-workers have earned the right to the land with their struggle, with their ceaseless battle against exploitation, unemployment and poverty, with their sacrifices, with the persecution of which they have been the victims, with the torture and condemnations undergone, with the blood spilled on the land by those who gave their life so that the land might one day belong to those who work it.

Finally, the farm-workers won the right to the land with 25 April, with the Revolution, with the expropriations, with the organization of UCPs/Cooperatives, with the Agrarian Reform consecrated in the Constitution of the Republic as an integral, inalienable part of the Portuguese democratic regime.

The struggle continues and will continue until large landholdings have been totally eliminated, until, once and for all, the land will belong to those who work it from parents to children and in perpetual usufruct.

Twenty-four Hours Will Suffice

The Agrarian Reform is a structure of work and peace.

The Agrarian Reform was undertaken and implemented without any violence.

In the Agrarian Reform process, violence always started with the farmers, the government, the enemies of the Agrarian Reform.

It was not necessary to use a single armed man to occupy, clear, cultivate and expropriate the land of large landholdings.

But, in order to snatch land, cattle, machinery and other property from the UCPs/Cooperatives illegally, the government uses, in each operation, strong GNR contingents, with automatic weapons, sometimes with armored cars, with packs of fierce dogs, ordering acts of violence, brutality and savagery that do not spare women, old persons or children.

These facts prove well that the Agrarian Reform has the full support of the farm-workers and of the people in general and that the drive against the Agrarian Reform is supported only by a small number of farmers and their mercenaries who would not lift a finger against what belongs to the UCPs/Cooperatives legally, if it were not for the brutal support of the GNR.

The facts prove that, even with the most scandalous illegal acts and the most brutal violence, it is not easy for the fascist-leaning PPD/CDS government to destroy the Agrarian Reform.

Let the farm-workers work in peace and, with regard to the Agrarian Reform, not one single armed man will be needed in Alentejo and Ribatejo.

Therefore, we say and emphasize the following:

Over a period of 4 years, the successive governments had to use strong repressive forces and constant, uninterrupted acts of violence and brutality to steal 300,000 hectares of land from the farm-workers.

But on the day when a new government declares the arbitrary, illegal decisions by the MAP null and void (and that day will come and we shall struggle for it to come as fast as possible), the farm-workers will not need a single armed man. They will not even need more than 24 hours to

reoccupy for the UCPs/Cooperatives all the land that was seized illegally from the UCPs/Cooperatives.

We can even say that with a little good will, not even 24 hours will be needed.

We do not say this merely to encourage.

Real, perfectly legal and perfectly possible prospects are involved. Perfectly possible, comrades.

Our task in the present situation is to fight inch by inch, to defend and consolidate positions, to delay the enemy's advance, to counterattack whenever possible and (within the framework of the institutions and democratic legality) to lay the groundwork for recovering the land and other property turned over illegally to the farmers, to resume the offensive and to proceed with the Agrarian Reform until it has been carried out completely, until final victory.

Sa Carneiro Out in the Street!

Today more than ever, just as in other periods of the Portuguese Revolution, it is right for us to shout that "victory is difficult, but it is ours!"

Therefore, within the framework of the institutions and democratic legality, it is necessary to continue firmly to resist the advance of the reactionaries, their attempts to liquidate the Agrarian Reform, nationalization and the rights of the farm-workers, the unconstitutional, illegal and arbitrary measures of the Sa Carneiro/Amaral government.

It is necessary to struggle firmly so that the next elections for the Assembly of the Republic (which are to take place in September or October) may be held under democratic conditions and, therefore, it is necessary to prevent the election law that the Reactionary Government is trying to have passed from reducing the elections to a masquerade worthy of the period of fascism.

Finally, it is necessary to work right now to defeat the Reactionary Alliance in the next elections, reducing it again to a minority of deputies and increasing all over the country the number of deputies of those parties that consistently defend the Agrarian Reform as an indispensable requirement for a democratic alternative to the present policy and to the present government.

There are many people who were misled and voted for AD [Democratic Alliance], but who will not vote for it again.

If new elections were held today, the Reactionary Alliance would be reduced, in the Assembly of the Republic, to what it really is: a minority that has no legitimacy whatsoever to govern April Portugal.

It is necessary to set to work right now, comrades, to increase the number of votes and of deputies who will consistently defend the Agrarian Reform.

The possibility of definitely blocking the reactionaries and of finally forming a democratic government that will include the complete and definite implementation of the Agrarian Reform in its program will depend on that new strengthening in the next elections.

In this situation, what is the meaning of certain leftist candidacies and a certain leftist campaign?

What they are going to do is try to divide the workers and facilitate, in the long run, continuation of a reactionary government.

It is necessary to unmask and fight against the divisionist activities of people who use apparently very revolutionary words, but who do nothing more than try to divide the workers and the democrats.

The next elections for the Assembly of the Republic are a great battle that we absolutely have to win.

Defeat of the AD will put an end, at the same time, to the PPD/CDS parliamentary majority and government.

But, if we struggle firmly and confidently, if we strengthen our unity, the PPD/CDS government will not reach the elections and, before that, Sa Carneiro will be out in the street!

Cause of the Whole People

The 4th Conference on the Agrarian Reform was a strong demonstration of the unity of the farm-workers in defense and pursuit of the finest conquest of the Revolution.

The fact that thousands of delegates of the UCPs/Cooperatives discussed the problems amply and thoroughly, united like one single man in defense of the Agrarian Reform, the fact that firm unity of thought and of action was observed, the fact that complete unanimity was observed in approval of the documents and in specification of the tasks, those facts redouble confidence that "United we shall overcome!".

Unity is an essential factor for victory.

Here, we put out a call for the Agrarian Reform workers to maintain their unity always and to strengthen it constantly, so that they will not let any weeds of division thrive, so that, at all times and under all circumstances, they will remain shoulder-to-shoulder, brother alongside of brother, in the hard battles lying before us.

We are making an appeal here so that the alliance and unity of action of the agricultural workers and small farmers may be strengthened. Both groups are concerned with defending the Agrarian Reform and so that large landholdings and the despotic power of the large landholders will not be restored.

We are making an appeal here so that the bonds of constant cooperation and of active solidarity between city-workers and rural workers will be strengthened. This cooperation and solidarity recently found extraordinary expression in large-scale strikes, concentrations and demonstrations from north to south in this country.

We are making an appeal here to all democrats and patriots, specifically to PS members and sympathizers, for joint action against the reactionary government, to prevent them from going ahead with the plans for liquidating the April conquests and the democratic regime, so that a democratic government, with a democratic policy, may be formed as rapidly as possible.

The holding of the 4th Agrarian Reform Conference is a very valuable contribution to unity in defense of April Portugal.

Tens of thousands of persons here came to Evora to express the active support of the Agrarian Reform.

Many tens of thousands came. But we all know that, if all those who wanted to be here had come, not tens of thousands but hundreds of thousands would be here.

We are all aware that the Agrarian Reform is not only the cause of the farm-workers and small farmers in the Agrarian Reform area.

We are all aware that the Agrarian Reform is the cause of all workers, of all democrats. It is the cause of the whole people. It is the cause of Portugal, which does not want to fall back into the oppression and tyranny of the fascist past.

We are all aware that to defend the Agrarian Reform is to defend freedom, democracy, the nation's independence.

This grandiose rally, this grandiose, lofty demonstration of unity and solidarity (to which is added the solidary presence of representatives from other countries), gives the Agrarian Reform workers the certainty of strong, unflinching support.

And it gives all the participants and every Portuguese worker and democrat, all of us, new, enthusiastic confirmation that our cause is just, that we are on the right course, that the Agrarian Reform, the cause of the whole people, will triumph, that the rights of the farm-workers will be defended, that the reactionaries will be defeated. Sa Carneiro will be thrown out and, through the unity, will and determination of its sons, through the

unity, will and determination of all of us, democratic and independent Portugal will overcome the present obstacles and will continue on its way to socialism.

April will overcome!

Down with the reactionaries!

Hurrah for the Agrarian Reform!

Hurrah for the unity of the farm-workers and of all democrats and patriots!

Hurrah for April Portugal!

10,042

CSO: 3101

'AVANTE!' REPORTS ON VISIT BY CPCU'S JOSEF LENART

Meets With PCP Organizations

Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 17 Apr 87 p 4

[Text] The rally held last Thursday evening in the Quiluz Fierens's Hall, before an enthusiastic audience that completely filled the place, was undoubtedly one of the high spots of the visit paid to our country by a delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the PCP, as we already reported in our last issue.

The rally, during which speeches were made by comrades Josef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic, and Alvaro Cuchal, secretary general of the PCP, published in this edition, was a vibrant internationalist event and strong evidence of the fraternal friendship uniting the comrades of both countries.

That fraternal friendship was reflected, moreover, in the same way in all the other contacts made by the Czechoslovak comrades with various structures and organizations of our party, especially the talks with a delegation of which the following were members, in addition to Alvaro Cuchal: comrades Carlos Costa, of the Political Committee and of the secretariat of the CC, and Jorge Araujo, of the secretariat of the CC. At the end of the talks, a joint communique was released that we are publishing here.

The visit by the Czechoslovak comrades also included various contacts with PCP and workers' organizations.

The first visit was to Barreiro, on 5 April, where, after the meeting with the PCP municipal committee, the Czechoslovak comrades were able to tour the QUINHIGAL facilities and to exchange impressions with the General Committee of Workers and the Labor Union Committee of that public enterprise.

In the afternoon of that same day, the Czech delegation was received by officials of the UDR (Lisbon Region Organisation Directorate), in the Victory Work Center.

In the Santarém District, where the visitors went on 10 April, they were able to contact the president of the Alpiarça Municipal Council, who received them and accompanied them after a tour of the low-cost housing construction jobs. In addition to a meeting with the officials of UDRSA (expansion unknown; probably Santarém Region Organisation Directorate), the Czech comrades visited the Moucho do Inglês UCP (expansion unknown; probably Union of Portuguese Farm-workers), before a luncheon offered in their honor in Almeirim.

On the last day spent in our country, these comrades from our sister party paid a tribute to the antifascists killed at Tarrafal at the monument to the Tarrafalists, on São João Hill.

Also on Friday, but at the end of the afternoon, the delegation from Czechoslovakia visited AVANTE! where they exchanged impressions with the editorial staff.

Interviewed, Gives Impressions

Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 17 Apr 80 p 4

[Report on interview with Josef Lenart, head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, during a visit to the editorial office of AVANTE!, on 11 April]

[Text] "The rally in which we participated in Queluz and which was the real culmination of our stay here in Portugal was one of the most important moments in my life," Comrade Josef Lenart, head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, told us during the exchange of impressions that took place during the visit paid by the delegation of that sister party last Friday to the editorial staff of AVANTE!.

Right at the end of his statements, Comrade Lenart insisted on expressing, through AVANTE! "our cordial gratitude for the welcome afforded us everywhere and we take advantage of the opportunity to greet its readers and to wish the greatest success in the struggles lying before you."

An Inestimable Capital

Speaking of the visit by the delegation of the CPCZ to our country, Josef Lenart stated:

"Our impressions have exceeded all expectations. In particular, with regard to the bonds of friendship of the Portuguese communists with Czechoslovakia, with the Czech people. The friendship, the comradeship that unites our parties traditionally has been still more pronounced in recent years. It represents an inestimable capital that we, on our part, shall always continue to expand and deepen.

"We are also aware of the weight, the importance of friendship for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, among the more vast comrades of the Portuguese people.

"The constant growth of the PCP since the April Revolution, its activity in behalf of the interests of the Portuguese people, the positive results attained are obvious. Particularly impressive is the self-denial of the comrades in their just struggle in behalf of the working class, of the working people, of Portugal, their just orientation -- in the line of proletarian internationalism -- in close connection with the communist and international worker movement, with democratic forces all over the world. Equally impressive is the proper orientation of work that can be observed from the bottom to the top, both in the CC and in the rank-and-file cells, in close connection with a truly revolutionary ethics, with the heroism and self-denial of the party members in their joint struggle with other democratic forces.

"The talks and meeting with Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, with many party members, with the QUINIGAL workers, workers in various cooperatives, municipal councils and other sectors have convinced us that the PCP, that the Portuguese workers and working class have a victorious future before them, although they are in an especially difficult time in their struggle."

Socialism and Peace

Another topic discussed in the talk in the AVANTE! editorial office was the international situation and the dangers to peace. Josef Lenart told us the following:

"The world reactionary forces have unleashed a campaign leading to cold war. The economic interests of the military-industrial complex, the ardent desire of the more reactionary sectors of the middle-class to win power lies behind this campaign.

"But there is a new factor in the world today: the forces of the socialist community, which are ready to prevent any kind of war and which count on their economic and military capabilities to put this in concrete form."

Comrade Lenart pointed out that this new factor is the one that sets itself up against the real dangers being experienced at present, because, in view of the progress of the technical-scientific revolution, war "implies a context that includes the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe.

"The battle for peace is joined on the basis of the policy of peace of the socialist community, a policy that Czechoslovakia shares, and its victory is absolutely necessary. The more realistic circles of the middle-class world can also be counted on for neutralizing the aggressive attempts by imperialism that are inherent in its very nature.

"There are reasons for having confidence, in the dialectics of the real dangers and at the same time in the increasing strength of the sectors longing for peace."

Comrade Vladimir Janko, deputy chief of the International Policy Department of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, spoke to us precisely about this confidence, about the reasons for nourishing a well-grounded optimism, in spite of everything, in the present international state of affairs.

"Two basic reasons for this optimism: In the first place, this policy of aggression by the United States conflicts with the international balance of forces. It has no assumptions for changing this balance. One of the former American presidents, Nixon, admitted, in the Moscow talks, that the bases on which the postwar capitalist policy rested are outmoded at present. We shall add that they have been outmoded for a very long time and that it is impossible to go backwards.

"The second factor in our optimism is the fact that the policy of the United States is in open conflict with the desire, the interests, the feelings of the overwhelming majority of mankind. Therefore, we base ourselves on the certainty that, if we are capable of mobilizing all those forces in our just struggle, it will finally be possible to put an end to the policy followed at present by the United States and to resume the program of detente, of a progressive armament reduction until general disarmament is attained."

He pointed out that a long, hard struggle is involved in which the socialist community has the strategic initiative and in which the Portuguese people have and will have an important part to play.

"Portugal's struggle against attempts by domestic and foreign reactionaries to subvert the revolutionary process has played a decisive part in the worldwide revolution in recent years. Its struggle for the future is also at present an integral part of the world struggle for peace."

Present-day Czechoslovakia

Right now, Czechoslovakia is commemorating the 35th anniversary of its liberation by the Soviet Army, with participation by the country's masses of the people and communists. Thirty-five years of living in freedom has a widely positive result that finds expression in the successful fulfillment of economic and social tasks, in development of socialist democracy, in the workers' initiative for increasing productivity. Industrial production has increased 11-fold and agricultural production has doubled. Important results were obtained in improving the living standard of city and country workers, as well as in sectors as important as education, culture and health.

"All these facts," Comrade Lenart stated, "are contributing to a consolidation of the unity of the Czech people with the Communist Party of

Czechoslovakia, a consolidation of the role and importance of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia among the broadest strata of the people."

Tasks of the moment consist of putting into practice, simultaneously, the advantages of the socialist society and the results of the technical-scientific revolution in Czechoslovakia's present situation; strengthening the scientific and effective nature of the leadership of the nation's economy; intensification of the workers' participation in administrative activity at every level; intensification of the forms of socialist democracy.

All these matters -- and others -- are being discussed in the work in preparation for the 16th Congress of the CPCZ, to be held next year.

"In short," Comrade Lenart also said, "after building socialism, we are, at present, in the phase of laying the foundation for developed socialism. This is a complex task for which the Czechoslovak comrades have support consisting of incorporation within the socialist community, support by the international communist and workers movement, support by the Portuguese workers and communists."

"We shall do everything possible to build the developed socialist society in our country and thus contribute to building socialism in the whole world," Comrade Josef Lenart stated in conclusion.

Cunhal Addresses Rally

Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 17 Apr 60 p 5

[Speech by Alvaro Cunhal, PCP secretary general, in rally held in Quiluz, 10 April 1960]

[Text] Comrade Josef Lenart
Comrades of the CPCZ Delegation
Comrades:

This friendship rally, held at a time when we Portuguese communists and workers are entirely involved in hard battles in defense of April Portugal, has a deep significance.

This rally is in itself an affirmation that we Portuguese communists regard our national tasks and our internationalist duties as complementary and inseparable.

The national tasks are the very reason for our existence as an organized political force. The internationalist duties, in addition to their expressions of solidarity, also have, as their principal expression, effective, successful fulfillment of the national tasks.

The greatest contribution that we can make to the struggle of other people is, at the present time, to guarantee victory of our own people in the struggle in defense of the conquests of the April Revolution and Portugal in their struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism.

On the other hand, we regard the struggle of our sister parties and of the revolutionary forces of other countries as a contribution to our own struggle and we feel that their achievements and victories are ours.

This attitude involves close relations of friendship and cooperation with the communist and worker parties and with the other revolutionary forces of other countries and a constant, mutual affirmation of solidarity.

Through their own difficult experience in struggle during almost half a century of fascist dictatorship the communists and workers of Portugal learned to give due value to feelings and acts of solidarity.

That is the spirit in which we welcome the delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia here today.

I believe that I am interpreting everyone's feeling by saying to our visitors:

Welcome to Portugal. We know that we have sincere friends in you. On our part, you can also be certain that we are and shall always be at the side of socialist Czechoslovakia.

Mutual Solidarity

The visit to Portugal by the delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia, at our party's invitation, is included in the framework of the relations of fraternal friendship in existence for many years.

We do not forget the active support and concrete solidarity that the communists and people of Czechoslovakia gave our party and our people all during the hard years of struggle in the underground against the fascist dictatorship.

The constant, unfailing political support must be remembered. And also the many comrades who fraternally received, housed and treated must be remembered.

Also, after 25 April, the CP of Czechoslovakia was always at the side of the Portuguese Revolution. In the most difficult and dangerous moments, when virulent campaigns of slander were unleashed against our party and our people (in which even our companions in some other countries participated), demonstrations of friendship by our Czechoslovak comrades never were lacking.

I should like to take advantage of this visit and this friendship rally to express publicly, before the communists and the workers hearing us, to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and through it to the people of socialist Czechoslovakia the feelings of deep gratitude of the communists and people of Portugal.

True internationalist solidarity is always mutual. On our part also, we communists have always been actively in solidarity with the communists and the people of Czechoslovakia.

We salute joyfully the historic achievements in building the socialist society. We share in the concern caused by internal difficulties. And we have always firmly opposed the insistent campaigns by the world's reactionaries against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and also against the Soviet Union by means of attacks on Czechoslovakia.

There are forces in the world that would have liked Czechoslovakia, after World War II, to become a fortress of imperialism in the very heart of the socialist community.

We heartily congratulate the CP of Czechoslovakia and the people of Czechoslovakia on their firm struggle against enemies within and without, on their achievement in building a new society.

The fact that the flag of free, independent, socialist Czechoslovakia, held strongly by the party and the people, waves victoriously in Prague is a motive for profound joy and confidence in the cause of the workers for the workers and for all truly democratic, progressive forces.

Marxism-Leninism, Proletarian Internationalism

Parties guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism of proletarian internationalism have no difficulty in understanding and cooperating.

Naturally, differences of opinion and even disagreement on a given problem are natural and even unavoidable.

But, by taking inspiration in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, not only do the great objectives approach each other and identify with each other, but also independent analysis by the parties leads to identical conclusions on what is essential.

The identification in what is essential does not mean, as some claim, that some parties follow or support what others do and say, but, on the contrary, it results from the independent activity of each party. The secret of the identification and coincidence of points of view is the fact that the parties have adopted scientific criteria, that they find inspiration in Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism, far from limiting or hindering independence and creativity, is an indispensable instrument for a creative analysis and investigation of new situations and of new phenomena.

It is a profound mistake to think that a party that abandons Marxism-Leninism is better suited for performing independent, innovative and creative political and ideological work.

Abandonment of Marxism-Leninism is already in itself a sign of yielding to ideological, political and social pressure by the bourgeoisie. It is a step toward dependence on middle-class ideology. It is not a course headed for innovative ideas, but rather toward a resumption of old patterns of reformism saturated with claims to originality. It is a decision that prevents a scientific examination of events, a correct interpretation of new phenomena, determination of a proper line, theoretical development based on new knowledge and new experience and on a critical evaluation of accumulated experience.

In Portugal, because of our own experience over many years, we are familiar with the constant pressure being exerted on our party to abandon the principles by which it has always been guided.

Fortunately there is no vacillation in the PCP. All the members of our great party collective are unanimous. The PCP was established as a Marxist-Leninist party. It has always remained loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism. This has been its path. This will continue to be its path.

The PCP was established as a party and revolutionary vanguard of the working class and continues to be that. As revolutionary vanguard, it defends, in the present stage, the interests of all workers, of rural workers, of the lower middle-class in the cities, of the middle-class strata, of every class and stratum interested in not having the economic and political power of the monopolistic groups and of the large landholders restored.

The class nature of the party expresses not a narrowness of objectives, but, rather, recognition of the determining role of the working class in the whole revolutionary process.

The class policy of our party finds expression both in its internal activity and in its international positions and relations inspired by the principles of proletarian internationalism, because proletarian internationalism has its objective roots in the identity of interests and aims of the working class in every country.

Unity of Communist Parties and Unity of Democrats

Class division and antagonism are not reduced to the framework of each country. Class division and antagonism have an international expression. Both economic, financial and trade relations as well as diplomatic and political relations have a class content that must be singled out and characterized at every step.

For communist and worker parties, the internationalist solidarity of the working class and of workers in every country (with which the socialist countries are also identified) is necessarily superimposed on international alliances between political forces representing very different social classes and interests.

We Portuguese communists advocate a vast system of alliances in every country and on the international scene.

But we do not believe it right for a party of the working class to establish, by its individual decision, alliances with parties in another country that are in conflict with the parties of the working class in that country.

The PCP does not establish relations with political forces in other countries without consulting the respective communist parties. We believe that a proper rule is involved. Those who do not respect it frequently commit criticisable acts of meddling in the domestic policy and the domestic issues of other countries and other parties.

The now so-called "Euroleft," as the logical development of the so-called "Eurocommunism," tends to superimpose the initiatives, cooperation and joint action of communist parties in some countries with socialist, social-democratic and other parties in other countries on the joint activities, cooperation and joint action of communist parties.

An erroneous form of understanding unity of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces is involved.

Mutual solidarity, cooperation and unity of action of the communist and worker parties is an essential requirement for strengthening the anti-imperialist front, for cooperation and unity of action of the forces of democracy, peace and national independence.

We are pleased to observe that both our party and the CP of Czechoslovakia agree that the relations between our two parties, in addition to what they represent for our two peoples, are also a contribution to the unity of the communist movement, to the unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

Maneuvers of Division and Necessary Unity

One of the essential duties of the communist and worker parties is to act for close cooperation and mutual solidarity with the three great revolutionary forces in the present-day world: the socialist countries that have the USSR as the principal component, the worker movement in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

Regardless of how important (and it really is important in a number of countries and internationally) the effort is for an understanding of communist parties with socialist parties and other democratic parties, the basic forces in the struggle against imperialism for liberation of the workers and of the peoples, for victory of the cause of freedom, of social progress, of national independence, of peace and of socialism, are the socialist countries, the worker movement in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

Therefore, the PCP performs persistent, consistent action of friendship and mutual solidarity with the CPSU and the communist and worker parties in socialist countries, with the sister parties in capitalist countries and with the revolutionary parties and movements in the countries of the so-called Third World.

Let me say a few words on these three directions of our party's international activity.

Concerning socialist countries, we are all familiar with the campaigns and pressure to separate our party from the communist and worker parties of socialist countries.

With regard to Czechoslovakia, the campaign is also virulent and constant.

Our reply is in plain view, in the visit by the delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia and in this fraternal friendship rally.

With regard to the USSR, the anti-Soviet campaign again amounts to an absurdity, in Portugal.

The Sa Carneiro/Preitas do Amaral Government, which is becoming a pawn in the adventurist game of the most aggressive circles of imperialism and of Carter's election campaign, is headed toward a policy of primary anti-Sovietism that is bringing Portugal's foreign policy back to the disgraceful position of the period of fascism.

The systematic refusal of visas for Soviet citizens -- representatives of women, young persons, artists, tourists, and so on -- to visit Portugal reveals well the fascist trend of the PPD/CDS [Popular Democratic Party/Social Democratic Center Party] government in the foreign policy. It is an attempt to rebuild the wall of isolation and of subservience to imperialism that, for decades, shut off the Portuguese people from the field of international activity and the benefits of cooperation in diversified foreign relations.

The policy of the Sa Carneiro Government intensifies more the idea of a need for tightening the bonds of friendship and solidarity with the communist and worker parties of the USSR and other socialist countries.

The socialist community and the USSR as its main force play a predominantly important part in the entire evolution of the world because of their political influence and their economic and military power, because of their achievements in building a society without exploited or exploiters, because of the value of their solidarity with workers and peoples in struggle, because of the strength of their example.

That is the underlying cause of the mortal hatred that imperialism has for the socialist countries, the cause of the violent, constant campaigns of

misinformation, lies and slander, the cause of the hysterical anti-sovietism that the Sá Carneiro/Freitas do Amaral government and reactionaries and opportunists are attempting to relaunch.

If a Soviet physicist with a knowledge of atomic secrets enters into contact and close cooperation and political collaboration with imperialist countries and is moved from the capital to another city, with the right to an apartment, to a subsidy and to live with his family, a worldwide campaign is unleashed immediately against a supposed violation of human rights.

But we all know about the hypocrisy of this campaign when we recall that, in the United States, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were sentenced and executed in the electric chair merely for being scientists and communists, but who were completely innocent, as was more than proved.

We also are familiar every day with the provocations of reactionary propaganda against socialist Czechoslovakia.

The voice of the Portuguese communists will never join the depraved voice of reaction, of its leaders and of its organs of misinformation and propaganda (the voice of A NUA, the voice of O DIÁRIO, the voice of O DIA, the voice of A TARDE, the voice of O CORREIO DA MANHÃ, the voice of TV and of RDP, CDS/PPD) in the campaigns against the USSR, against Czechoslovakia, against the socialist countries, which are an essential fortress of the cause of the workers and of the people all over the world, and a determining force in the evolution of the world toward the liberation of mankind from exploitation and imperialist oppression, from social injustices and inequalities, from aggression and war.

With regard to communist parties in capitalist countries, our party is making a real effort to exchange opinions frankly and sincerely, to develop relations of mutual solidarity, for cooperation and joint action.

The brief visit (while passing through) made by Comrade Georges Marchais to Portugal last Monday and the joint communiqué on the meeting that took place is more evidence of that orientation of our party.

That visit was an important contribution, not only for tightening still more the bonds of friendship existing between the two parties, but also, in general, for strengthening unity and cooperation in the international communist movement.

The same may be said about the visit, although brief, to be paid by a Delegation of our CC of which I am a member starting next Tuesday to Great Britain, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland.

Concerning the revolutionary forces in countries of the so-called Third World, the recent visit by a delegation of our party to the Middle East is evidence not only of the need but also of the possibility for a broad,

future development of relations of the communist parties with those forces, in addition also to being evidence of the great international prestige attained by our party, owing to its consistent internationalist policy.

A Few Words on the Present Political State of Affairs

By visiting us, our guests from the CP of Czechoslovakia have brought us valuable up-to-date information on their country and on the activity of their party.

A few moments ago, all of us here had an opportunity to listen to Comrade Janart and I believe that I interpret the feelings of those present by thanking him on behalf of all for his information and the friendly, solidary words that he has had for our party and our people.

Our guests have come to Portugal also to make contact with the present situation in Portugal and with our party's activity.

We are certain that the tours that they took and the meetings held were very useful.

With regard to this internationalist friendship rally, it seems to us adequate for discussing some present problems of an international nature. But we cannot fail to report, although briefly, on the political state of affairs through which we are going.

Basically, what characterizes the present political moment?

Its basic characteristic is that, starting with the government itself and the majority of the Reactionary Alliance in the Assembly of the Republic, a large subversive operation is in full progress. Its short-term and medium-term objective is the complete destruction of the conquests of the Revolution, restoration of the economic and political power of the monopolistic and large landholding groups and liquidation of the democratic regime.

It is not a question of our dramatizing the situation. The danger is imminent. The PPD/CDS, Sá Carneiro/Freitas do Amaral government is constantly confirming, by its action, that the accusation that we made against it is entirely just: the Sá Carneiro/Freitas do Amaral government is a fascist-leaning government that talks about democracy, but whose real objective is establishment of another dictatorship.

All we Portuguese must acquire awareness. In order to prevent fascism from again tyrannizing Portugal, it is absolutely necessary to interrupt the criminal, destructive advance of the present government.

Feelings of indignation and revolt are widespread all over the country. The struggles of masses are taking on a vastness never before seen.

The PPD/CDS government is governing against the people. The people are rising up against the government and are shouting justly: "The struggle goes on! Out with Sa Carneiro!"

It is necessary to resist the offensive and the plans of the reactionary government firmly, under the protection of the Constitution and of democratic legality.

It is necessary, under the protection of the Constitution and of democratic legality, to struggle so that the next election for the Assembly of the Republic (in September or October) will be held under democratic conditions and to work right now to inflict a great defeat on the Reactionary Alliance and to increase the votes and number of PCP and APU (United People Alliance) deputies as a prerequisite for a democratic turnabout in Portuguese politics.

It is necessary to struggle to drive out the outlaw government, under the protection of the Constitution and of democratic legality.

When we say that it is necessary to resist, that it is necessary to drive out the Sa Carneiro/Freitas do Amaral government, the reactionary forces immediately say that we are making a call for insurrection.

We have always said and we repeat once more here:

The PPD/CDS government is the one that is violating the Constitution and legality, giving rise to disorder and subversion.

The PCP and with it the workers are acting within the framework of the Constitution, of institutions, of the democratic regime, of legality and of democratic order.

The struggle of the communists, of the workers, of the masses of the people is necessary and indispensable. It is constitutional and legal. It is legitimate and just. It will overcome!

We ask Comrade Lenart and the delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia to transmit, on returning to their country, the warm, fraternal, solidary greetings of the communists and the people of Portugal to the secretary general of their party, Comrade Husak, to their party and to their people. And we also ask him to say, contrary to what the reactionary forces proclaim, that the Revolution of the Carnations is alive and quite alive in the hearts, the minds, the action of Portugal's communists and workers.

The struggle goes on and will go on until the PPD/CDS government's policy of illegality and destruction has been checked and defeated, until the Sa Carneiro government is thrown out into the street, until democratic legality and the rights of our people are restored, until a democratic turnabout

in Portuguese politics is achieved, until the dangers of reaction and fascism are definitely removed from our country, until continuation of the democratic regime toward socialism is definitely guaranteed.

This is our party's determination. This is our people's determination.

Hurrah for April Portugal!

Hurrah for the CP of Czechoslovakia!

Hurrah for the PCP!

Hurrah for proletarian internationalism!

Lenart Addresses Queluz Rally

Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 17 Apr 80 p 5

[Speech by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPCZ, head of CPCZ delegation to Portugal, in rally held in Queluz, 10 April 1980]

[Text] Comrades,
Dear Portuguese Friends,
Dear Comrade Cunhal!

We have great, sincere pleasure in being able to participate, today, in this meeting, coming together with you, during the visit by our delegation to your country to which we were invited by the leadership of the sister Portuguese Communist Party.

We should like to thank you sincerely for the cordial welcome that we encountered at every step during our stay among you. We see in that a demonstration of your truly fraternal internationalist positions with regard to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the workers of our socialist country.

We assure you that our people also have warm feelings of brotherhood and comradeship toward you, communists and workers of Portugal.

With great pleasure, we bring to all Portuguese communists who have won great affection by our people because of their bravery and self-denial, and personally to you, dear Comrade Cunhal, greetings of struggle and comradeship from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and from its secretary general, Comrade Husak.

At the same time, we transmit struggle greetings from the Czechoslovak working class to the vanguard of your people, the Portuguese workers who are marching in the front ranks of the struggle for a better life for their country.

Our cooperative farm-workers greet their brothers in the Portuguese villages who have occupied, without hesitation, the property of the large landholders to grow in common the bread of their own land.

We bring greetings from the Czechoslovak intellectuals to professors, physicians, engineers, to all Portuguese intellectuals who are following the path together with the people and who offer their talent and their capability to the building of the new democratic Portugal.

We are also happy to transmit the greetings of the Czechoslovak youth to your working youth and students, to the young people of the Portuguese Revolution.

Dear Portuguese friends!

Our party and our people are following with great sympathy and admiration your struggle for the happiness of the people, for their freedom and independence. This struggle is very near to us, because we ourselves had to struggle hard for freedom against fascism and the struggle of the peoples of the Iberic Peninsula against fascist dictatorships could never be, and never has been, indifferent to us communists.

Your struggle is also near to us, because we are very familiar with your nation's great history and culture. Because our children become familiar, already in elementary school, with the deeds of the Portuguese navigators, whose discoveries belong to the most important events of the modern history of mankind. Our country has been and still is being well informed on the struggle of the revolutionary democrats that culminated in insurrections and revolutionary coups at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

When the Portuguese Communist Party came into being, 60 years ago, the revolutionary fighters in Czechoslovakia welcomed it as the legitimate heir and representative of the struggles waged by your people for progress and democracy. The Czechoslovak communists have demonstrated, for decades, their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Portuguese communists and democrats for the overthrow of Salazar's dictatorial regime. We learned with deep sorrow and sadness the losses of the best sons and daughters of the party who were capable, in the underground, in torture chambers and on fields of death, of the greatest sacrifices for the victory of the people.

And also because of that, dear comrades, at the unforgettable moment of that day in April 1974, when the song of the people's resistance, "Grândola," sounded out announcing the beginning of the Revolution, we were with you in spirit. We were very happy when your Revolution achieved important changes in the field of the political regime, in industry, in finances, when the Agrarian Reform began to be implemented. At that time, your country was foremost in the keen interest of all the people of Czechoslovakia.

In this context, we should like to point out that we communists of Czechoslovakia, together with all the people of our country, place a high value on the April Revolution of the Portuguese people. We see in it an integral part of the world revolutionary process. Your victory in April over the fascist dictatorship is regarded by us as a victory of the democratic and progressive forces in the world over imperialist domination, exploitation and oppression. It represents a contribution in this struggle and encouragement for its constant development.

Nevertheless, we are well aware that every day since the victory over fascism has been full of class struggle against the forces of domestic and international reaction that have conspired against the April Revolution, against the Communist Party, and that want to deprive the people of their fruits and have unleashed a struggle of hatred and physical terror.

In this situation, our greatest admiration belongs to your Communist Party that is defending tenaciously the conquests of the Revolution and is carrying out honorably its vanguard mission.

We are with you in spirit when you lead the working class so that it will defend the great work of nationalization of factories, banks and insurance companies and so that worker control will be consolidated.

We follow with emotion the decisive struggle of the farmers and farm-workers against reactionary attempts to return the land to large land-holders.

We follow with admiration the successful achievement of your party in uniting the best forces of the intellectuals around the Central Committee. In Czechoslovakia, we are also grateful for the works of Ferreira de Castro, Alves Redol, Fernando Namora and other progressive writers who represent realistically the struggle of the working class and of the rural proletariat, with whose translations our party is familiar.

We also have a profound understanding of the ceaseless action by broad sectors of the people, by all the people in defense of the democratic rights of the people, in defense of legality, in defense of all the conquests consecrated in the new Constitution.

We appreciate how your party, loyal to the tradition of the April Revolution, is striving to ensure the unity of all the Portuguese people and to achieve the support of the broadest strata of the population.

Among your party's revolutionary merits is the fact that it has contributed to establishment of the right of the people in the former colonies to self-determination, which made your country come out of international isolation and increased extraordinarily Portugal's authority and dignity in decision on international problems.

All this proves convincingly that your party, tempered in struggle, is loyal essentially to the people, is firmly loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and is putting this doctrine to good account creatively, because it is faithful to proletarian internationalism.

All this is evidence of the aptitude and experience of your party's Central Committee, headed by that great revolutionary of our times as an important factor in the international communist movement, the secretary general of the party, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal.

Comrade Alvaro Cunhal is for us Czechoslovak communists, for the workers of Czechoslovakia, a symbol of irreplaceable courage and industry. He is a symbol of fervent patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Beloved Comrades!

We are deeply moved by your unswerving determination to defend and maintain the cause of the Revolution, the determination to multiply its results, what we heard during the meetings and talks with you. This moves us, because life of the workers in socialist Czechoslovakia, as well as in other socialist countries, is already showing the profound implication of this struggle and its achievement in the new situation of the working man.

Within a few weeks, we are going to commemorate, in our country, the 35th anniversary of its liberation from the fascist yoke by the glorious Soviet Army.

At the same time, this will be a review of the results implied for Czechoslovakia by the government of the people, of the implication of scientific leadership of society.

Allow me to clarify them by presenting a few facts to you.

We are developing the forces of production considerably in Czechoslovakia. Industrial production has increased 12 times, in comparison with its status before the war, and it is at present four times greater, counting per inhabitant, than the worldwide average, while in 1938 it was only two times greater.

Revolutionary changes were achieved in agriculture, which went from small production to large-scale socialist production. This enabled our agriculture to increase its production two times more, with a fourth of the number of workers, in comparison with the pre-war level.

We have achieved convincing results in an increase in culture, education of city-workers and farmers, in the development of public education, whose doors, including universities, were opened equally to all talented workers. We raised the level of science and art. This proves that, together with material development, other values of the communist ideal are being introduced successively.

This economic and cultural development made it possible to increase significantly the standard of living of the workers who do not experience the fear of unemployment and who have social security and life insurance guaranteed.

Socialism has laid the political, economic, social and cultural groundwork for the equality of rights of Czechs and Slovaks and of the national minorities, required for their development and rapprochement.

In our country, democracy for the people has become a reality, and the rights and freedoms of the citizens are guaranteed by the political and economic system of society.

And if we wonder, dear friends, why we were able to achieve so notable a development in Czechoslovakia, we can reply that it is because socialism has developed the creative forces of the city-workers, farm-workers and intellectuals extraordinarily.

It is because the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has fulfilled its mission as an inspirer of society's development. It is because it has observed the Leninist doctrine on the building of a new society.

It is because the party, as the vanguard of the working class, has won over and filled with enthusiasm broad sectors of workers for revolutionary reorganization. It has created an alliance of city-workers and farm-workers, the national front of urban workers and rural workers.

Because, during the building of socialism, we consolidated our ties with the Soviet Union, we have drawn from their revolutionary source and we have learned from their example and experiences.

Of course, our course was not a ride on an asphalt superhighway. We also committed mistakes and serious errors of which the reactionary forces attempted to take advantage for a counterrevolutionary invasion. Thanks to the Marxist-Leninist forces in the party that were supported by sister socialist countries, we frustrated that attempt, consolidated the party and society and set out on a course of building a developed socialist society.

At this time, we are concentrating on preparations for the 16th congress of our party. The great task consists and will consist in our continuing to develop our society, which we rightly regard as consolidated and firm, and in maintaining, even under the difficult conditions of the 1980's, the standard of living that we have achieved. And only one course leads to that: we must attain a high quality of work and a high degree of production efficiency. This is the basic strategic line of our party and now the struggle for its attainment is being joined in the factories, fields and research institutes. This is the dynamic atmosphere in which we are preparing ourselves for commemorating the 25th anniversary of our country's liberation, with a feeling of great security and confidence.

Comrades!

The present international situation requires our country and our people to concern themselves seriously with the development of international relations.

In the 1970's, great success was achieved in detente and in development of economic and cultural collaboration. It is an extraordinarily important task for this positive trend to continue to be maintained.

This will not be easy, because the more reactionary forces of imperialism are again striving to draw the world into an already discredited cold war. These circles have unleashed another feverish armament race and have turned some countries of Western Europe into American nuclear missile launching pads, so that they may gain military preponderance over the socialist countries and under the pretext of the events in Afghanistan. This policy, supported by the hegemonic leadership of China, conceals within it an enormous danger of a worldwide nuclear catastrophe.

The socialist countries are facing up resolutely to this danger and they are ready to face it. It has already been clearly stated that they will allow imperialism to achieve the preponderance that it desires and they will do everything possible so that the course laid out by Helsinki and by the agreement on strategic arm limitation will continue to be followed.

Socialist Czechoslovakia is proceeding in unity and jointly with the peace policy of the Soviet Union, because this policy is consistent with the vital interests of our nations, just as the interests of all mankind consist in life and peace.

The sympathy and support of our people are at the side of those peoples who are struggling for their national and social liberation.

We support the just cause of the Palestinian people in their struggle against Israeli aggression and we are in favor of a peaceful solution to the problems of the Middle East so seriously harmed by the Camp David agreements.

The recent trip to Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos by the secretary general of our party and president of the Republic, Comrade Husak, and the agreements concluded also demonstrate unmistakably our attitude toward the struggle for liberation by the people of those countries and toward the effort to build a new life on the basis of socialism.

We should like to assure you Portuguese communists, workers of your country, that the people of socialist Czechoslovakia will do everything possible to contribute as much as possible to consolidation of the unity and strength of the countries of the socialist community, so that, through their effort and results, the attraction of real socialism may increase, so that their contribution in the common struggle of the people for maintaining and consolidating peace in the world may increase.

Comrades!

We Czechoslovak communists appreciate and highly esteem the traditional relations and the fraternal friendship between our parties. We express the conviction that our visit to your country, the fruitful and inspiring talks with representatives of your party, the unforgettable meetings and discussions with communists and other workers, and also this meeting, will contribute to a still greater intensification of those bonds. So that they will bring a still greater benefit to the unity and strength of the international communist movement, to the cause of peace and progress.

Comrades, in us you have and always will have firm, courageous friends. Our sympathies go with your just cause.

With all our heart, we wish you new success in the struggle for defense of the revolutionary conquests, for free, democratic and independent Portugal. We wish you good health and personal happiness.

Hurrah for the glorious Portuguese Communist Party!

Hurrah for the working people of Portugal!

Hurrah for the fraternal bonds between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Portuguese Communist Party, between the peoples of Portugal and Czechoslovakia!

10,042
CSD: 3101

COORDINATOR SEES IMPROVED POSITION FOR LIBERALS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Mar 80 p 9

[Commentary by Sven Svensson: "Better Situation For Ullsten After The Victory For Line 2"]

[Text] Liberal Party leader Ola Ullsten acquired a strengthened negotiating position in the government after the victory for line 2 in the referendum and the clear majority for the "yes" alternatives. The Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party which support line 2 have the majority in the riksdag [parliament] and are going to be discussing the effect of the results on energy and politics.

Ullsten was criticized at the year's end, when the referendum alternatives were being formulated, for lining up with the social democrats in support of line 2. Many liberals wanted Ullsten to support the conservatives' line 1. The figures from the voting barometers during the spring have been unfavorable and Ullsten moved over.

On Monday the joy was even greater in the Liberal Party after the victory for line 2. The victory gives the Liberal Party somewhat of a key position in the three-party government.

Falldin had a smashing loss in the election last fall, and now has done just as poorly in the referendum.

And yet Falldin expects to remain in office and administer the development of nuclear power, which is clearly against parliamentary rules.

One possibility for Falldin would be to grit his teeth and quickly carry out the will of the people as it was expressed in the referendum. All indications are that Falldin is instead thinking of being stubborn and procrastinating as much as possible.

Do the other bourgeois parties expect to put up with new shenanigans over power plant activation?

Combination in Theory

A possible government combination following the victory for line 2 would be for the Liberal Party, Social Democratic Party, LO [Swedish Trade Union Confederation], and TCO [Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees] to form a government to carry out the energy policy of line 2 and lay the foundation for a negotiated agreement.

That possibility exists in theory, but not in practice. Neither the social democrats nor the liberals are ready for such a drastic step.

The Liberal Party wants to do nothing which would break up the three-party government. The Conservative Party also wants to avoid a new election. A new election would probably put a socialist majority in the riksdag.

The social democrats are not going to work especially hard to bring about a new election either. The Center Party could win votes on environmental issues in a new election, and the VPK [Left-Wing Communist Party] could make progress, and the social democrats would have difficulty in winning back the voters who voted for line 3.

Instead Palme is thinking about active support of the liberals within the non-socialist three-party government in order to advance the energy policies of line 2.

So Ulsten should stiffen his backbone so that he can stand up to Falldin's efforts to procrastinate on the energy policies or manipulate the results of the referendum.

Demand For Activation

The demand from Palme is very decisive, that the 12-reactor alternative shall be carried out, and that the four finished reactors shall be activated without undue delay.

If Falldin plays games with the will of the people too long Palme will be forced during the spring to resort to a no-confidence resolution against the government in order to speed up the process and retain his own credibility. This would be especially true if Falldin should refuse to activate quickly the four finished reactors.

In order to bring Falldin down more than half of the riksdag's members must vote no-confidence. This would never happen. On the other hand the liberals and conservatives could abstain from voting. Such a demonstration would also make Falldin's position untenable.

The attitude of the social democrats increases the liberals' chances, through their position in the government, to carry out the program of line 2. Whether that will happen is another question. Pressures from groups in the Center Party who are against nuclear power are going to harden with each concession forced from Falldin.

Discussions About Operating Time

Before the referendum all parties promised to respect its outcome, at least the parts which appeared on the front of the ballot.

There is no possibility of compromise on the 12-reactor program, even if the Center Party is already looking at plans to stop the eleventh and twelfth reactors.

On the other hand it is an entirely open question at what rate the older reactors should be taken out of operation. On this question it is possible to advance whatever position one wants without going against the results of the referendum.

There are certain reasons why Barseback should be promptly taken out of operation, and other reasons can be given for stopping the reactors at Ringhals because they are unsafe. Other reasons exist for taking Oskarshamn 1 out of operation because it shows symptoms of aging.

It is not indisputable that more reactors in operation increase the risk of nuclear power. On the contrary, there are many reasons why it can be better to operate more reactors and thereby have the choice of shutting down the worst for good or temporarily for rebuilding or improvement.

Cooperation Between Social Democrats and Liberals Surprisingly Good

The greatest surprise in the entire referendum campaign is the good cooperation which was established between the social democrats and the liberals on line 2. This cooperation will have long-range consequences on the political scene. Energy policies cover many different areas in the life of the society and the results are of long duration.

If the Liberal Party broadened its cooperation during the referendum campaign, the Center Party did quite the opposite.

As prime minister, Falldin has been unusually successful in two respects: during his time the conservatives have become an efficient party, and the left-wing communists have changed to a respectable democratic party.

That must have retroactive effects for the center in the next election. Nothing can any longer prevent Bohman from pointing to himself as the outstanding bourgeois candidate for prime minister.

At the same time Falldin is running the risk of losing votes, even to the left-wing communists. After the activating of the new nuclear power plants and building up to 12 reactors, the various opponents of nuclear power have only the left-wing communist Werner to cling to.

OPEC MOVE TO DEAL WITH GOVERNMENTS AFFECTS COUNTRY

Shifting Positions of Oil Companies

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 29 Apr 80 p 33

[Article by Mats Hallgren]

[Text] The oil-exporting countries in the organization OPEC have advanced their positions during the entire period of the 1970's.

During the first years of the 1970's the oil countries acquired part ownership in the oil fields. Previously the oil fields were regarded through concessions as the property of the oil companies.

Nationalization came after part ownership. All the oil countries started their own national oil companies.

Another milestone in the history of international oil was passed when Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Saudi-Arabia's oil minister, refused in October 1973 at Hotel Intercontinental in Geneva to come to an agreement with the big oil companies regarding prices for the year.

On the 17th of October 1973 the oil countries themselves in Kuwait set the price on their raw material.

The yearly OPEC meetings have been from that time hot news in the West. The governments of the industrial countries and industrial leaders hold their breath a bit just before the decision of the oil ministers.

But despite this significant redistribution of power in regard to the oil wells during the first half of the 1970's, the position of the big multinational companies in the oil market has remained intact. The oil companies were the only ones who had the knowledge, technique and apparatus to handle the oil.

The Engineers

The engineers, the tankers, the refineries and market distribution remained with BP, Royal Dutch-Shell, Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil and Chevron.

Up to 90 percent of the international oil business during the 1970's was conducted by the international companies. It was, nevertheless, clear for a long time that a change in this pattern was coming.

In an interview with DAGENS NYHETER in the spring of 1972, the then general secretary of OPEC, Nadim Pchahel, said:

"It is natural for the oil countries in the long run to build up their own tanker fleet and deal increasingly directly with the buying countries."

In Sweden the direct agreement of the cooperative OK, (The National Association of Swedish Oil Consumers) with the oil domain Abu Dhabi in 1976 was the first sign that a change was on the way. But it was during 1979 that crude oil seriously began to look for ways around the big oil giants.

The share of the international oil companies in the oil business had at the turn of the year 1979/80 gone down from 80 percent to about 65 percent. The direct agreements between oil countries and buying countries had increased to 20 percent from a little more than 6 percent a year earlier. This development is continuing at an increased pace this year.

Political Reason

It is not only economic considerations which lie behind the new streams of crude petroleum in the world. Politics has also contributed.

Nigeria, Africa's largest oil producer, nationalized the production of the English British Petroleum. BP's business in South Africa and Rhodesia was given as the reason. BP lost in Nigeria access to about 400,000 barrels of oil daily.

The disturbances in Iran has had a great significance for the changed trade patterns. In 1978 Iran's oil production was about 6 million barrels a day. Production stopped completely in the beginning of 1979, and now that it has started again it is approximately 50 percent lower. The revolutionary regime in Iran is selling its oil through different channels than before the crisis, among other ways, directly to the Swedish OK and the state Swedish Petroleum (Svenska Petroleum).

In Saudi-Arabia, the world's largest and most important oil producer, the national company Petromin has increased its direct sales. According to a report in the periodical, International Petroleum Finance, Petromin has increased its sales by 500,000 barrels daily to 1.3 million barrels daily

(1 barrel = 159 liters). The international consortium Aramco (Exon, Mobil, Texaco and others) has lost up to 800,000 barrels daily from Saudi-Arabia.

Another example is Venezuela's oil contract for 1980. The traditional customers will not obtain at the most more than 50 percent of the total sales (70 percent in 1979). At the same time sales to the Brazilian national company Petrobras and to other domestic companies in Latin America has increased.

In the oil domain Dubai the American Conoco group must sell half of its production to the state at a lowered price. Conoco may to be sure repurchase the oil, but it must then pay the prevailing spotmarket price (37 US dollars a barrel).

Fewer Tankers

The change in the oil contracts influences also the movement of the oil over the oceans. The time of the supertanker is over (at least temporarily). Since the oil companies prefer to apportion their black gold in smaller "drops," the tanker shipping companies and the oil companies can no longer bring in a 400,000 ton vessel and get it fully loaded.

The smaller tankers (up to 150,000 tons) have good times. Today shippers earn money with these older vessels, often under flags of convenience. It is difficult to keep the modern and rational tonnage in operation.

According to information in the periodical, Petroleum Intelligence Weekly, 15 percent more tanker tonnage is required to ship a diminished quantity of crude oil.

"One can maintain today with good reason that the distribution of oil has taken a step backwards to more inefficient and more expensive ways," Alf Bergman, the managing director of Svenska Shell says. "In the long run, however, I believe that it will rectify itself."

Being Squeezed

The changes in the contract principles of the OPEC countries are reflected at the consumer end of the oil flow. In Sweden the subsidiaries of the multi-national firms feel themselves more and more pressed.

The national Swedish firms, on the other hand, diligently sign crude oil contracts directly with the oil countries. The state Svenska Petroleum has grown very rapidly and will this year import up to 30 percent of the nation's oil.

SP has gone in for cooperation in regard to crude oil with the cooperative OK and the Johnson-owned Nynas. The group has recently signed its first

common agreement with Iran. A similar agreement with Saudi-Arabia is in the offing.

What are the big international oil companies doing to counteract this development?

One way they have been pursuing for a long time is to become more an energy company and less purely a petroleum firm.

Unique Competence

But since they have a unique competence in oil, different ways are being tried to keep access to crude oil.

The decision of Royal Dutch-Shell recently to build a big refinery in Saudi-Arabia together with Petromin is an effort in that direction.

"We are hoping for more crude oil even before construction has started," said Dirk De Bruyne, chairman of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Co. "We also hope that the joint refinery will improve the and deepen our contacts with the authorities in Saudi-Arabia."

At the turn of the decade 1969/70 the big oil companies controlled the whole oil chain from the well via the shipping company and the refinery to the customer. At the turn of the decade 1979/80 the power structure is radically changed.

Swedish BP's Share

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 29 Apr 80 p 33

[Article by Mats Hallgren]

[Text] The Swedish BP's share of oil from the mother company in London will decrease this year by 30 percent as a direct result of the situation on the international oil market.

Sven Nyberg, managing director of Svenska BP, is worried over the situation but does not think it is a question of a crisis.

"We are not thinking of leaving the Swedish market. We are trying ourselves to get the crude oil and petroleum products we need. But we have been forced to drop some customers."

The majority of the Swedish subsidiaries of the Seven Sisters are hard pressed because of the way oil goes directly from the oil-producing countries directly to national companies in the consuming nations. While the state Svenska Petroleum is growing, the foreign-owned oil companies have seen their share of the market decline.

For Reasons of Profit

"Svenska Esso's share of the market in Sweden has gone down from 7.3 percent to 6.4 percent in a year," says Gustav Gradin, vice-managing director of Svenska Esso. "We have deliberately cut down our total petroleum business in Sweden. But it is mainly a question of profitability which is behind this--not so much difficulties with supplies."

At Svenska Gulf the automotive chief, Sven-Gunnar Hjorth answers the question as to how the changed oil flow has affected their activity this way,

"Our refinery in Denmark is operating at only 65 percent of capacity. We in Sweden anticipate increased difficulties in obtaining adequate oil."

BP's selling 20 percent of its refinery in Goteborg to Svenska Petroleum is also a reflection of the changed pattern. OK-Texaco will shortly also have Svenska Petroleum as partowner in Scanraff. Svenska Shell has leased out 20 percent of its refinery to Svenska Petroleum.

Good Nerves

"You have to have good nerves and patience not to reduce business in this situation," says Alf Berman, managing director of Svenska Shell. "We have had to drop a majority of our state and municipal customers."

Shell's share of the Swedish market declined last year from 12.5 percent to barely 11 percent.

Alf Bergman regards the current situation as deplorable since the oil business throughout the world is becoming more expensive and the consuming countries become more dependent upon individual oilproducing countries.

Several of the heads of the foreign subsidiaries refer to recent debate about the TV program about the execution of the Saudi-Arabian princess.

"Vulnerability increases with the number of bilateral treaties," says Gustav Gradin of Svenska Esso. "It is likely that in a few years the pendulum will swing back to the advantage of the big."

It is also worth remembering that the big oil companies still handle 65 percent of the international oil business and that a portion of the oil which now by-passes the oil companies still in the final end goes out to consumers via the channels of the international subsidiaries.

A disadvantage of the direct agreement, which the foreign firms point out is that it can be difficult for Sweden to obtain a sufficient quantity of low-sulphur oil.

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CSO: 3109

VFK RELIEVED AFTER N-VOTE, DESPITE DEFEAT

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Mar 80 p 9

[Text] "It is not we who have the headache today," so said the VFK [Left-Wing Communist Party] after the referendum. The results are seen as a great success, that line 3 succeeded in getting nearly 2 million votes in spite of what was considered solid opposition from parts of the government, the trade union organizations, and the mass media.

What will the VFK do with its cooperation with the CP [Center Party]? It is expected that the CP will sever the connections which held them together during the campaign. But still on Monday evening the VFK leader Lars Werner and the CP prime minister Thorbjorn Falldin had not met nor spoken with each other--not since they met on television with all the party leaders late on Sunday evening.

"We have had no other cooperation with CP than just concerning the nuclear power question," said Lars Werner. "We do not know if it will continue. But VFK is going to work until the opponents of nuclear power number over 50 percent."

Lars Werner said that those who are in difficulty now are the center, the liberals, and the social democrats.

"Up to now Olaf Palme has not been trustworthy in the nuclear power debate. Now he will get the opportunity to show that he really will carry through," he said.

There is distinct satisfaction in the VFK over the referendum results, and over the nature of the campaign. Politicians who wanted nuclear power were forced to take a stand. Scattered voices demand that Thorbjorn Falldin should resign. Both Lars Werner and the former party leader C-H Hermansson have said that they would resign if they found themselves in the situation that Falldin is now in. But that is not going to be a demand from VFK.

For the most part VPK is going to refrain from statements and posturing just now. The riksdag group is meeting today, Tuesday, and over the weekend the party leadership will meet--nothing special, just a routine meeting.

Is VPK not going to insist that Barseback be closed now? No, no such demand is coming out today or tomorrow, said Lars Werner.

The energy question is one of the most important for VPK. In the party's program for the 1980's, which deals with how the society will be shaped, energy is very high on the list.

"We will not give up until the last reactor is shut down," said the VPK.

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AFTER N-VOTE: SOCIALIST LEADERS URGE PALME COMPROMISE

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Mar 80 p 2

[Letter to the editor signed by seven leaders of the Social Democratic Party]

[Text] We believe that the Social Democratic Party should take the initiative in a compromise on energy policies which can get as much broad support as possible from those who favored lines 2 and 3. This appeal is directed at a number of outstanding social democrats in a roll-call to the party leadership. Three of the signers--Göte Bernhardson, Hans Lounroth, and Lars Wettergren--worked actively in the campaign committee for line 2 here in Stockholm.

The referendum campaign was a painful time. Election campaigns are not noted for their generosity or moderation, and this campaign has hardly been an exception. The difference is that accusations, bitterness and animosity have crossed new boundaries. Who could have thought a few years ago that we would conduct a three-front war in Swedish politics with C [Center Party] and VPK [Left-Wing Communist Party] behind one barricade, S [Social Democratic Party] and FP [Liberal Party] behind another, and M [Conservative Party] behind a third, which was partly behind a second?

But the picture is more complicated than that. The social democrats have not stood solidly behind the party leadership. Significantly more than a million people who voted S and FP in the 1979 riksdag election chose in the referendum to vote for line 3 or not to vote at all. In Stockholm about 45 percent of those entitled to vote in 1979 voted for S and FP. Almost half of these chose not to vote for line 2 or else stayed home.

Who can interpret the voting results to say that nearly 40 percent of the Swedish people have decided that we should use exactly 12 reactors in 25 years, and that the same number of Swedish people believe that we should have 6 reactors in 10 years?

There are those who voted for line 3 who favor closing all reactors immediately. There are also those who could accept more reactors than 6 for a longer time than 10 years--as long as they are convinced that there will be no more new construction. There are also those line 3 voters who really believe that line 2 is the less evil alternative. But they were afraid that if line 2 should get too many votes, those social democrats who really want to build more power plants beyond the 12 would feel free to do so.

There are also those who supported line 2 who found it difficult to argue for terminating the program and who found it much easier to argue against line 3. And there were line 2 voters who, like the writers of articles, really want to take a more restrictive position against nuclear power. A large number of them who said they were against nuclear power in the opinion polls have clearly voted for line 2.

We find it unreasonable to interpret the voting results as a clear decision for 12 reactors in 25 years. We know that the concept of phasing out nuclear power has very strong support from the Swedish people. Line 1, which left the door open for continued expansion of nuclear power, was defeated. As to the rate, we believe the Social Democratic Party should take the initiative for a compromise which can gain as much wide support as possible among those who voted for lines 2 and 3.

It is natural to support the strongest arguments in the two lines. Line 3's strongest argument is safety and the idea that only a very clear signal to industrial leaders and government officials that there will be no more nuclear power can create the necessary pressure to cause the renewable energy sources to be developed.

A compromise can therefore be built on the following:

--The four completed plants will be placed in operation.

--Barseback will be taken out of operation as soon as possible, and at the latest by 1985, as recommended in line 3.

--Reactor 12 should be abandoned. We can probably save more oil by utilizing the resources which Oskarshamn 3 would require on energy conservation and new energy sources.

--The Swedish electricity sector must be radically reorganized. Water power must be developed and the electricity sector governed in accordance with methods worked out for nuclear power.

--There should be extensive investment in energy administration and alternative energy sources.

The referendum resulted in strong criticism of developed capitalistic society. Parts of this criticism and the provisional Utopias which were used in the campaign should be adopted and included in our movement and our long-range policies.

The Social Democratic Party is confronted by a fork in the road. The party may choose to say no thanks to enthusiasm, campaign vigor, and the desire for a better society which existed in the campaign, and follow the 12-reactor line together with industry, the conservatives, and the establishment.

Or we can choose to try to bring the party together on an energy policy. If that succeeds we think that there are substantial possibilities for overcoming the other difficulties which face the country in the 80's.

Lars Arnell
Göte Bernhardsson
Anna Hedborg
Gudrun Hjelte
Hans Lonnroth
Bengt Sæve-Söderbergh
Lars Wettergren

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MERGER MEANS SWEDEN TO HAVE ONE OF LARGEST ADP FIRMS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 29 Apr 80 p 34

[Text] One of Europe's largest data service firms was created on Monday by the merger of Datema, SCA, Multidata AB and Sandata AB. The new firm will have about 900 employees and a turnover of about 330 million kr.

The consolidation was effected through Datema AB's taking over all the shares in the other two firms.

Sandata, which belongs to Service AB of Swedish Savings Banks Society, has 180 employees in Stockholm, Goteborg and Malmo and has a turnover of 85 million kr.

Multidata with a center in Goteborg and a smaller branch in Stockholm has belonged to Svenska Cellulose AB. Multidata has 130 employees and a turnover of 35 million kr.

The MBL negotiations are said to be finished. Datema sees itself strengthened by the acquisition in the increasingly difficult international competition. About 15 percent of current activity is abroad, but the share is expected to increase through Datema's data network.

The consolidation is said not to require any reduction in personnel since the demand for qualified ADP personnel is great. A number of people will, however, be offered new work duties in the organization.

Datema AB is a firm in the Axel Johnson group and was formed in 1964. Before the merger with Multidata-Sandata the turnover was 231 million kr. Datema's earnings for 1979 will be 6 million kr. Datema had calculated before the merger on earnings of 11 million kr in 1980.

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COASTAL ARTILLERY COMMANDOS GET GRUELING TRAINING

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 30 Mar 80 p 37

[Article by Tommy Nilsson and Martin Sjöberg]

[Text] Few Swedish soldiers get such grueling training as the coastal artillery commandos. They are pressed to do their utmost to become hard, tough, picked soldiers.

What do they themselves think of the drill and of the officers in command who drive them so hard?

Two freelance journalists, Tommy Nilsson and Martin Sjöberg, followed them for a few days in their everyday training, a long icy march in the Stockholm archipelago.

A winter afternoon at the Coastal Artillery in Vaxholm. Approximately sixty boys, around 20 years old, are lined up in absolutely straight lines.

"Caps off, berets on!"

The command reverberates throughout the barrack square. Sixty hands move toward the left pockets of the trousers of their uniforms. A moment later, sixty newly-cut heads have changed from field caps to green berets with gold-colored neptune forks.

The coastal artillery commandos, the picked soldiers of the coastal artillery, have completed the march of the commandos, the annual manhood test before the soldiers are finally promoted to coastal artillery commandos. The reward: the wearing of berets, the international symbol of commandos.

Berets, extra stretch to their trousers, finish to their shoe polishing jobs. Tough fellows who make heroic efforts for their native country. This is the picture which the Swedish Armed Forces want to convey of their coastal artillery commando units. But what are the coastal artillery commandos doing when they are not showing themselves in their special uniforms and berets? And what is the everyday life like to our Swedish picked soldiers?

A few months after the berets had been distributed, we were granted permission to accompany the commandos during a winter week in the archipelago.

One Monday morning, we are standing in the barrack square, wearing anoraks, skiing boots, rucksacks, skis, cameras and tape recorders. Around us, three coastal artillery platoons are loading backpacks and other materiel on trucks. When they have finished loading the trucks, the boys take their seats in buses which will take us to Blid Island where the icy march is to begin.

A staff sergeant sits down next to us in the bus. He regards our civilian clothes with skepticism, asking if we think that we shall be able to withstand the coming hardships. Around us morning-sleepy Swedish picked soldiers are sitting, yawning. All of them are wearing white snow suits. Fire arms have been deposited casually on hat racks, seats and in the aisle.

Suddenly a lieutenant comes rushing in. The boys sit up straight in their seats. They examine their clothes anxiously, reaching out for their fire-arms. The lieutenant is looking around the bus, letting a few seconds go by.

"First platoon, formation in 10 seconds outside bus."

The order works like an electric shock. The boys rush helter-skelter toward the exits. Some of them forget their fire-arms and try desperately to make their way back against the onrushing crowd.

Pull-Ups in Snow

Fifteen seconds later the platoon is standing in line. The lieutenant gives orders for pull-ups; he himself has taken his gloves off and puts his hands into the snow. The idea is that the boys must do pull-ups in step with him. After a while all of them lie exhausted on their stomachs. The lieutenant goes on until his hands are blue and white from the cold.

The bus stops. We have arrived at Bromskar on Blid Island. Here the road stops, the ice extends in front of us. It is cold and snowy. After we have eaten lunch from canteens, the platoons line up on the ice. Skis are put on.

"March On!"

Slowly, the platoons start moving, spreading out across the ice in long columns. We have been told to accompany the third platoon. I am looking for the chief of the platoon, a captain, and accompany him for a while. He talks with pride about the international status of the coastal artillery commandos.

"We have had a visit from the U.S. Marine Corps, they were astonished when they saw our attacks with live ammunition. We actually have more realistic maneuvers than they have. Our training is also harder, both psychologically and physically."

The captain talks about an international cooperation among the various commando units and command troops. Last summer, the captain participated in a war maneuver with French commandos. He tells me that the maneuver was carried out together with units from the foreign legion on Corsica.

I dislike the idea that the Swedish armed forces cooperate with paid professional murderers and mercenaries, but I say nothing; instead I ask whether the training of the coastal artillery commandos includes political instruction.

"We talk a little about the political situation abroad, but usually the boys find it uninteresting. But it is an important question, for the political situation is becoming serious."

Love's Military Life

The snowfall increases, it has become afternoon. The only sound heard is the shuffling of skis, the rattling of weapons. I stop for a while and wait in line for the platoon. There, farthest back comes a staff sergeant who is a deputy platoon chief.

I go up next to him and ask him how it happened that he ended up in the coastal artillery commando school.

"I love military life. For one thing, I get a chance to be a lot out-of-doors, and, for the other, I believe that it is important to train the boys so that they have a chance to hold their own in case of war. That it became the coastal artillery commando school that I chose, is due to the atmosphere here. The boys who want to come here have a stronger psyche and a stronger desire to defend Sweden. Moreover, the commandos are an elite unit. It takes a little more to get through the training."

"But the psyche is important. Those who become commandos have a special psyche which I like."

"In your opinion, do, for example, the conscientious objectors have a different psyche?"

"Yes, there are, of course, those who object to military service for religious reasons, and that we must, of course, accept, but there are also those with whom it is a question of psyche."

We arrive at the islet where we are to spend the night. Protected by reeds, and by means of a few solitary pine trees, the wind break is put up.

A fire is built in the middle. It is probably now 10 degrees below zero. Everybody tries as quickly as possible to get into their sleeping bags to get a bit warm before the night falls. Fire shifts are worked out. Waking at 5 a.m. the next morning.

It is late in the afternoon of the second day on the icy march. We have been on our way since 7 a.m. The expansion of ice on which we move along seems endless. The bays stretch out, one after the other. Slowly, it starts getting darker on the horizon, the snow starts falling more heavily, and the evening air feels raw and humid.

The 50 boys in the platoon we are accompanying are completely exhausted, and the line, earlier winding like a string of pearls across the ice, starts thinning out to the back.

Somebody shouts that those ahead will have to wait for those coming after. The captain orders halt. Immediately, the boys sit down, leaning against anything available, sledges, rucksacks, and one another. Some of them take off their boots to fix their sores, others try desperately to thaw the water in their frozen water bottles.

Pressure Creates Team Spirit

The captain comes up to me, regards the exhausted platoon and says:

"We develop an amazing team spirit by putting pressure on the boys. I do not want to use the word agitation, but by putting psychological as well as physical pressure on the boys, we develop a group pressure which makes the boys stronger. All are forced to tire themselves out. We also get those boys sorted out who are not suitable for the training or who try to avoid their duties."

The brief rest is over. The boys get up with difficulty and lift their backpacks to their backs. There is a brief and heated discussion as to which boys have to pull the sledges. The captain settles the dispute by quickly selecting four new sledge pullers.

When we have started anew, I ask the captain how they will know whether they have selected the right boys for this kind of service?

"We have got something which we call requirement K, which the boys who apply for service here have to fulfil. He must have a special psyche, a certain commando profile, and so forth. But later on there is no guarantee that he will be able to cope with the pressure when the shooting starts. We can only hope that the spine works before the brain."

It has become pitch black before we get to the island on which we are to spend the night. It is bitter cold, and the wind which comes from all corners goes right through us. The boys lean apathetically back against tree trunks, stones or their backpacks.

The sledges which have been pulled across the ice, hold two 12-man tents, which will be used tonight. The captain walks around, trying to make the boys start cooking and setting up the tents. Gradually, some of the boys get up to set up the tents, they grumble and pick on one another. Nobody really knows how to pitch the tents. Everything is in a hopeless mess.

While we are sitting drinking coffee from a mess tin, the sound of a hydrocopter suddenly breaks the noise of clattering and curses, coming from the almost desperate attempts of the boys to set up the tents.

"The captain, where is he?" says the authoritative voice of somebody trying to find his way in the dark. The captain gets up quickly, whispers hastily to us:

"It is the training leaders who are coming."

"Major, captain here!"

Some of Them Always Try to Avoid Their Duties

Three figures emerge from the dark. Flashlights are lit. The leaders of the maneuver are two majors and a lieutenant colonel, and they crouch down with the captain around our mess tin.

"How are things here?" one of the majors asks. "Are the men tired?"

The captain is about to answer, but the major expects no answer, instead he looks around and continues:

"There are, of course, always those who try to avoid their duties and try to avoid exerting themselves, or how is it?"

A sound reaches us from the ice, one of the majors bends forward, listening:

"That must be the third platoon coming," he says.

He has hardly said this when a sharp shout of command is heard above the wind and the darkness.

"Third platoon, halt, formation in commando groups. Ready signs from group chiefs when groups have lined up!"

Some minutes go by, we hear the boys of the third platoon trying to arrange their packs and themselves out there on the ice. When the formation is over and everybody has been given duties by the metallic voice, the major shouts:

"Lieutenant, come here!"

Another face emerges around our mess tin. The lieutenant looks like the picture of a hard, tough elite soldier. He has cropped hair, a scar above his right eye. He is sturdy, his eyes are icy blue. He is the one we saw the first day in the barrack square, lying down doing push-ups right in the snow.

When the lieutenant has made his report, the leaders of the maneuver leave us, returning by hydrocopter to the mainland.

Training for War

I ask the lieutenant what he thinks of himself as an officer.

"As an officer, one has got to be able to do what one asks of the boys. I live under the same conditions as those who are in training."

"But do you not ask too much?"

"I have been placed, in case of war, as the chief of commando platoons, and if something happens, I want to be certain that the boys on the flanks will persevere. I do not want just having a lot of worthless soldiers on the left flank."

This is training for war. We do not conceal why the boys are here, and what they have got to learn. The only thing missing is somebody shooting back. In other respects, this is war. On the other hand, they hardly dare shoot at figures resembling people."

"Do the guys not dislike you when you push them so hard?"

"No, they do not, and this is because I do the same things myself."

"Does it not become monotonous in the long run?"

"Yes, but one gets used to it, and, in addition, the boys get weaker each year, so it is not so bad."

A staff sergeant and a sergeant of the lieutenant's platoon grope their way toward us. They look completely finished. The lieutenant gives them a condescending look and asks how the boys are doing.

"They are completely finished," says the staff sergeant, shaking his head, "they cannot do a thing anymore!" He himself looks as if he might collapse any minute.

"The boys have not been trained for this kind of thing. That is good. They must be finished." The lieutenant gives some brief orders as to what has to be done, and then returns to his cooking.

"Other conscripts do not learn anything. It really is fraudulent to call it military service. We have at least a chance to manage in case of war."

The boys in the first platoon have finally succeeded pitching their tents. In the tent in which we are sitting, twelve boys will be sleeping. Everything has been scattered in an incredible mess, sleeping bags, rucksacks, rubber mattresses, guns, and clothes.

Some of the boys have already fallen asleep, others are trying to prepare something to eat. I am sitting together with some of the boys, crouched around the red hot stove, trying to find out why they applied for service in the commando school.

"Want to Show Themselves as Tough"

One of the boys is negative toward the officers:

"Their only object is to assert themselves. There is, for example, one officer who, each time he gets a new platoon, wants to wear them completely out to show how good he is. It does not seem to occur to him that he will, later on, give the impression of being a complete idiot."

"Some time ago, we had to go out to shoot in a field. It was 3 kilometers away. Everybody had dressed warmly, for it was dreadfully cold outside. Then the said officer took us out into the barrack square and ordered a lot of pull-ups. Subsequently, he lined us up and gave orders for us to run 3 kilometers. When we got there, we were completely wet through with perspiration. Afterwards, we had to lie down and shoot half the day. We were freezing terribly. All of it just to show how tough he is."

It appears from the accounts of the boys that the commando training mostly consists of maneuvers which, to me, seem absolutely senseless. Stress and agitation, senseless races with heavy backpacks, formations and exercise. The purpose of maneuvers, which stretch over a week or several weeks, is to learn being hungry, to freeze and to be without sleep.

Some of them report that, during the annual commando march, they had to dig fire trenches in a swamp. When half the trenches were completed, they had to go and wash the spades, in order later to return to finish the digging.

"When we had finished digging the fire trenches, we were ordered by one of the officers to dig foot trenches in front. After we had finished this, another officer came up to us, asking us what kind of idiots we were to dig foot trenches in front of the trenches, and then we had to fill them again."

"In the night, we had to stand and howl like wolves. How do wolves howl, asked the officer, and 30 men then howled like wolves."

"After we had been doing this kind of thing for 24 hours, the actual march began. We marched for 3 days, 80 kilometers altogether. I believe we slept for 2 hours during those days."

The boys talk with pride about their hardships, but, at the same time, one gets the impression that they do not really know the purpose of these hardships. They look at me to see how I react.

"Long-Haired Whiners"

A boy sitting a little in the background who hitherto has not been saying a word, seems to be provoked by my questioning silence. He raises his voice, saying in a strained voice:

"It is a challenge being a coastal artillery commando. You see, I like it when there is action. I do not like the attitude of other soldiers, they whine, especially those with long hair."

The other boys protest lamely, saying that one does not have to be inferior because one has got long hair. One of the boys says in a self-assured voice that the beret was taken away from him because he has got long hair.

"I do not intend to cut my hair before I myself want to do it." He adds: "At least not till the main watch, then one wants to look the way one ought to."

Most of them have crawled into their sleeping bags. It is now 10 p.m. In 4 hours, the boys will have to get up to launch a fire attack against an island a little more than 10 kilometers from here.

In the happy knowledge that tomorrow at 9 a.m. we shall be on our way from here, we crawl into our sleeping bags. A fisherman on an island nearby has promised to take us over to the mainland on his snow scooter. The coastal artillery commandos will be continuing for 2 more days. For they have got a beret, the reputation of which has got to be upheld.

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INDUSTRY MINISTER ANNOUNCES SHIPBUILDING RESTRUCTURE PLAN

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 22 Mar 80 p 25

[Text] Landskrona and Finsboda shipyards must be closed. The government accepts the Swedish Shipyard restructure plan, which is expected to cost the country about 6.5 billion kronor. Extra government billions will be needed to give Landskrona a grace period.

The present capacity of 10 million working hours in Swedish Shipyards will be cut in half. How that is going to affect the approximately 15,000 employees is not clear.

If the shipyards get any profitable orders, they will naturally take them and then obviously not need to cut down as much as planned, says Minister of Industry Nils Asling. That does not apply, however, to Landskrona Shipyard.

Landskrona will have a grace period, and the 2,400 employees will be employed as long as they can be used before they move out on the labor market. The shipyard management will have the job of finding work but they may not compete with other shipyards or with other Swedish industry.

Test The Reactions

Minister of Industry Asling Friday afternoon disclosed the outline of the coming shipyard restructuring plan. Details will be revealed on 9 April. Nils Asling preferred to release certain information in advance, partly because it was in danger of leaking out anyway.

Also there is speculation that he wanted to unite the Liberal Party well in advance of the riksdag election.

He was careful to emphasize that restructuring of Swedish Shipyards is offensive, that the business will now work to capture certain segments of the market, and that the business will start making a profit in 1985. If shipyard management can not keep its promise of a profit the capacity will be further reduced after 1985.

The special areas that Swedish Shipyards will concentrate on are off-shore gas ships, tankers, and the prefabrication industries, among other things.

No Promises

This fabrication will take place at Kockums in Malmö, Arendale in Gothenburg, and Uddevalla Shipyard.

Landskrona Shipyard will be closed at the rate permitted by the labor market in Skåne. The government can give no other promises.

"The shipyard provides half of the industrial jobs in the Landskrona area," said Nils Åsling.

"Therefore we will take special care and invest more in Landskrona than we have in any other areas, including the hardest hit areas in Norrbotten. I am convinced also that the politicians in the region see the advantages of ridding the area of dependence on a business so sensitive to economic fluctuations as a shipyard," said Nils Åsling, and thereby expressed a hope of support from the bourgeois politicians who have threatened to vote against the closing in the Riksdag.

Social Democratic Motion

The social democratic shipyard group is going to make a motion. Riksdag Member Thage Peterson told SVENSKA DAGBLADET that Nils Åsling always kept the social democrats informed about the work on the restructuring plan and shared the supporting material.

"We are interested in a practical real solution, and do not intend to go into a partisan conflict on the matter," said Thage Peterson. "We will await the plan, but it happens that we disagree with Nils Åsling on a couple of points.

"We expect that the government's proposal is going to also include concrete recommendations as to what can be done for the areas that are affected.

"But we already see that both Gothenburg and Malmö must receive more active support. Nor can we dismiss Finnboða as lightly as Nils Åsling has done. Swedish Shipyards should be instructed to be generous in negotiations on the future of the Finnboða yard."

The social democrats believe that last weeks' development plan by the people of Landskrona should not be rejected. That plan can eventually save 1,500 jobs, and the social democratic group now wants to examine it closely before writing their motion. An outline of the motion is already finished.

Nothing Positive

Riksdag Member Ake Persson (liberal) who is employed at the shipyard has clearly said that he does not intend to vote for the closing. His only no-vote will be enough to crack the bourgeois majority in the Riksdag.

"Nils Asling has no positive answer," said Ake Persson to SVENSKA DAGBLADET. "There is only the matter of the grace period, and very little in terms of positive measures."

Ake Persson will not say how he will vote before he has seen the proposition with all the details. He also wants to see which motions are put forth in connection with the proposition.

Will Not Resign

Nils Asling said that he believes in Liberal Party discipline.

"The government is not going to resign if the shipyard restructuring plan is rejected."

Nils Asling announced another plan for the autumn. It contains recommendations on the political measures to be taken to help the labor markets in the shipyard locations.

Employment guarantees which will apply in Landskrona will also be extended to the employees in Gothenburg and Malmo. It is already being recommended that severance pay be given to the employees in Landskrona who move to new jobs.

"I have changed my opinion of employment guarantees," said the Minister of Industry. "Project 80 in Gothenburg came out much better than I expected."

Swedish Shipyards Official: Follow Our Suggestions

"It is very difficult, if not impossible, to find work for Oresund Shipyard, even though we take unprofitable orders," said the managing director of Swedish Shipyards at Gothenburg, Erland Wessberg.

"I am very satisfied with today's developments. It seems that the government has gone over entirely to our restructuring plan."

The head of Swedish Shipyards points out the importance of the activity at Oresund Shipyard not interfering with the restructuring of the other shipyards. That means that Landskrona may not take any orders which compete with other yards or other industries.

"Are there such products? What can the employees at Landskrona keep busy with?"

"No, there are no such products today. But we are naturally going to find a reasonable occupation during the closing."

"We are eventually going to find a suitable ship type for us to concentrate on. Landskrona of course still has orders, so the whole thing is not imminent."

"Does that not mean that the closing is being hastened?"

"No more than necessary. In all events, the employees are going to get the help they need from us," said Erling Weasberg.

Workers at Oresund: Prohibition is Unacceptable

The prohibition against Oresund Shipyard competing with other shipyards and other Swedish industry was strongly criticized by both workers and management at Oresund Shipyard.

"It is entirely unacceptable," said Lennart Karlsson of SIF [Swedish Industrial Salaried Employees' Association] to TT [Swedish Central News Agency].

Director Steve Bredgard first wants to await an explanation, however, before he comments on the prohibition.

"But as long as the item has not been decided in the Riksdag we will continue working on the contracts which are possible to get," said Steve Bredgard.

City Commissioner Bengt Ohrvik (center) was disappointed about Friday's announcement from the Minister of Industry.

"This is devastating for the municipality. There is much that is negative in the proposal. They talk of severance pay for those who are released and look for other work. At the same time we have reduced opportunities for work in the community.

"It is noteworthy that the Ministry of Industry took the Swedish Shipyard restructuring plan into such great consideration."

"It is unfortunate for all who will be without work. But it is important that we get a decision on restructuring," said Ombudsman Bengt Carlsson in Metals Branch 41 in Gothenburg of the shipyard restructuring plan.

Finnboda Can Still Be Saved?

Finnboda Shipyard in Stockholm can survive the shipyard restructuring plan. The shipyard's fate is to be decided in the negotiations which are underway between Swedish Shipyards and representatives for the Stockholm region.

The interest in a shipyard for repairs and industrial production in the region is great. Today these activities are making a profit at Finnboda. Losses are due to new ship construction--orders which were taken to create employment during the 70's.

The main problem for the firm is the large losses during previous years which undermined the business financially. The least adversity can now bring the business to its knees.

Negotiations Continue

Negotiations are now going on between Swedish Shipyards and representatives of Nacka, Stockholm, and Stockholm County Council. The regional representatives have made an offer to Swedish Shipyards which they hope will save Finnboða. SVENSKA DAGBLADET has learned that the offer contains, among other things, that Stockholm will take over land owned by the shipyard and then make it available with leasehold rights to the firm. That should give the shipyard a vital increase in working funds.

The Swedish Shipyards restructuring plan says that before a shipyard can be closed down it must be definitely determined that no agreement can be reached with the region which will guarantee the shipyard's continued activity.

An answer from Swedish Shipyards to the regional offer is expected to come in mid-April. The parties have agreed to await the negotiations which are taking place between the workers and management about the reduction of personnel at the shipyard.

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